

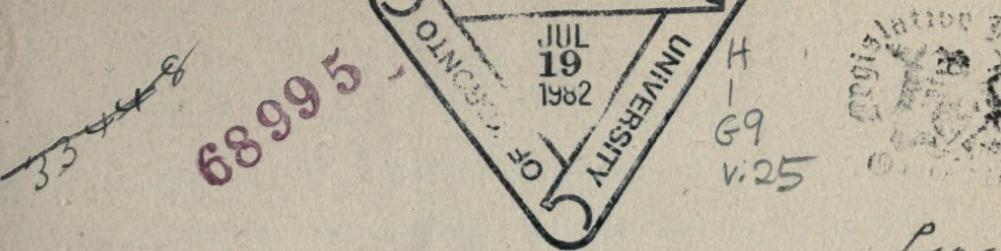
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"We have heard the strange doctrine that to expose the measures of rulers is treason. The cry has been that, war being declared, all opposition should therefore be hushed. A sentiment more unworthy of a free country can hardly be propagated. If this doctrine be admitted, rulers have only to declare war, and they are screened at once from scrutiny. At the very time when they have armies at command, when their patronage is most extended and their power most formidable, not a word of warning, of censure, of alarm must be heard. The press, which is to expose inferior abuses, must not utter one rebuke, one indignant complaint, although our best interests and most valuable rights are put to hazard by an unnecessary war! Admit this doctrine, let rulers once know that by placing the country in a state of war they place themselves beyond the only power they dread,—the power of free discussion,—and we may expect war without end. Our peace and all our interests require that a different sentiment should prevail. We should teach all rulers that there is no measure for which they must render so solemn an account to their constituents as for a declaration of war; that no measure will be so freely, so fully discussed; that no administration can succeed in persuading this people to exhaust their treasure and blood in supporting war unless it be palpably necessary and just. In war, then, as in peace, assert the freedom of speech and of the press. Cling to this as the bulwark of all your rights and privileges."

—William Ellery Channing.

From "*The Citizen's Duty in War Which He Condemns.*"



## GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

### RESTRAINT OF TRADE

During the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts in England, restraint of trade was a veritable menacing fact. What with the exclusive powers of chartered towns and, later, the special privileges of corporations chartered by the government, industrial opportunities were practically denied free enterprise and ambition. Law, administration, and custom were practically all in restraint of trade, and were the constant menace of industrial activity.

When this was finally declared by the courts to be against public interest, it was a great triumph for free industry. It was, in a real sense, emancipation from the repression of arbitrary privilege. It is not at all unnatural, therefore, that the phrase "restraint of trade" should find a place in our language as expressing something very bad. This is true of many phrases that have come into existence to express some real ill or fear.

If people oppose the national policy and criticize the administration, as some of the best citizens did in England on the Boer question, and in this country on the Philippines, there is a proneness to take advantage of the doctrine that "the king can do no wrong," and to impute treason to all who differ from the administration, especially in the matter of war. So in the field of religion. To differ from the orthodox religion, whatever that may be, is to incur the opprobrium of "infidelity." Tolstoi is an infidel in Russia; Protestants were infidels in the sixteenth century; and in the latter part of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries, Dissenters, or Non-conformists, were infidels, and the Episcopalians were orthodox. Later, Unitarians and Universalists were put under the ban as infidels by the Trinitarians; and to the Unitarian the

agnostic is an infidel. In fact, the words "traitor" and "infidel" are used so loosely, and to suit the convenience of those who want to give a neighbor a bad name, that they have become practically meaningless.

The phrase "restraint of trade" has been reduced to such hackneyed and flippant use that it has become well nigh meaningless. As used in the press to-day, and by political speakers, it conveys no specific fact, or definite idea. For the purposes of agitation, it is verily a phrase to conjure with, but for intelligent discussion it can never safely be used unless accompanied by a specific definition. Like the word "trust," it is used mainly to mislead the prejudiced, and not to enlighten the thoughtful. It is an effort to "give the dog a bad name."

It is well known that the spirit of public opinion is opposed to monopoly, and definitely in favor of freedom and fair play. "Trust" has been used as a synonym for "monopoly," so that every corporation of considerable size against which politicians, professional sentimentalists, or small business men who can not keep up with the best methods of the age, are working, is called a "trust." When nothing specific can be charged, except that the concern is successful, it is called a "trust" in order to put it in bad odor with the public. No matter whether it is a factory, mine, railway, to call it a "trust" is one of the surest ways of inciting public prejudice against it. This has become so general that the word "trust" has literally no meaning. It signifies nothing in particular, and very little in general. It serves the purposes of politicians and others interested in hampering industrial enterprise, to promote political fortunes that depend upon the stimulation of public prejudice and class jealousy.

"Restraint of trade" has a very similar history, is used in a similar way and is subject to a similar abuse. As a result of the prejudice, largely political, that is created against corporations, we are having almost an epidemic of legislation against "the restraint of trade." This prejudice (for it is largely prejudice), besides permeating the legislatures, has invaded the legal profession, and is now afflicting the judiciary. This is not altogether due to questionable motives, not even to po-

itical demagogic, but to an unconscious deference to what is called "public sentiment."

Public sentiment and public opinion are sometimes very different. Public sentiment is blind feeling that is often very unreasonable and usually wrong on new things, because it is to such a large extent born of tradition and prejudice. Public sentiment has committed nearly all the wrongs that we now call "outrages" upon the human race. Every movement toward freedom, in every sphere of human knowledge and experimentation, has had its martyrs at the hands of public sentiment. In science, politics, industry, and personal opinion, the milestones of progress are marked by martyrs to public sentiment.

Public opinion is a different thing. It is an intelligent conviction that is the outcome of much, and sometimes wonderfully protracted, discussion, in which the pros and cons have been freely presented. Public opinion, thus evolved, is usually right in the main. It is comparatively intelligent, and consequently tolerant; but public sentiment is usually ignorant, intolerant, and largely wrong.

The idea of restraint of trade is just now in the public sentiment stage. It is more a matter of feeling than of fact. It is the embodiment of the prejudice against large industrial enterprises, and combines the evils of the "monopoly" and "trust" fiction. The process of hampering the normal use of capital is to portray the evils of monopoly, then declare that "trusts" are monopolies, then that all large corporations are "trusts," and then proclaim that "trusts" are in "restraint of trade" and therefore against public interest. This process has been so much indulged in lately that it has practically become a legal formula. The interpretation of the Sherman anti-trust law by the United States courts in the Merger case is the culmination of this method of arraying prejudice against progress. Large corporations are trusts, trusts are monopolies, and monopolies are in "restraint of trade," and therefore a menace to public welfare.

Under conditions other than prejudice verging on political fanaticism, it might be expected that in order to prove that an industry or institution, legally, is in restraint of trade, it must

be shown at least that it restrains trade, that its tendency and known effect are to restrict and repress trade. But not so. According to the interpretation of the anti-trust law given by the United States court, it is not at all necessary for a corporation to restrain trade, or restrict competition, or in any way injure the public, in order to be convicted of being in restraint of trade and as a penalty be forbidden to do business in the United States. On the contrary, we are assured that:

It may be that the motives which inspired the combination by which this end was accomplished were wholly laudable and unselfish; that the combination was formed by the individual defendants to protect great interests which had been committed to their charge; or that the combination was the initial and necessary step in the accomplishment of great designs, which, if carried out as they were conceived, would prove to be of inestimable value to the communities which those roads serve and to the country at large.

All this, according to the court, was of no real account. If the combination, by virtue of being large, could restrict trade, or prevent or lessen competition, it is in "restraint of trade," and is guilty of violation of the law, even though in fact it increased trade, magnified the facilities for doing business, and was altogether in the interest of industrial development. Nay, even if the very interests of the concern were in favor of trade development, the very fact that it could restrain trade, though it had no interest or motive for so doing, but every interest and motive for not so doing, it nevertheless stands convicted of being in restraint of trade.

Very few instances exist in the history of society where prejudice, misinformed and even poisoned sentiment, has so effectively incorporated itself into statutes and legal interpretation of the courts as in this case of "restraint of trade." This decision in the Merger case, if accepted as a precedent, will do more to restrain trade than all the corporations that have ever been chartered in the United States. It does not imply even that the restraint of trade, or the power to restrain trade, shall be due to a legal privilege of any kind, but the fact that the concern is economically strong enough to interfere with trade in any way, constitutes the offense.

If this were carried to its logical conclusion throughout society, every person would be judged a criminal who has the power to commit a crime, in which case only babes and weaklings would be exempt. Just as fast as industrial enterprise succeeds and becomes large enough and strong enough to adopt modern methods, to reward those whose integrity and sagacity brought about success, and to distribute the benefits of better and larger product or superior conveniences to the public, it becomes a criminal, because every such concern has the power to lessen competition and perhaps destroy altogether the competition of some weaker and less efficient concern. Indeed, it is the very fact that it has done this that constitutes its superiority and success. If the factory had not driven out the handloom it would have been a failure, and because it drove out the handloom it destroyed the competition of the hand-loom weavers, and, therefore, according to the Merger decision, was in "restraint of trade," whereas it was the vital force in extending and stimulating trade. The actual case under consideration by the court in this instance was, unquestionably, not in "restraint of trade," but, on the contrary, wholly in extension of trade. There is no motive on earth that could be injected into the consolidation and lead it to restrain trade. The very success of the combined railways depended on the increase and development of trade. A railway can have no motive for restraining trade; its very life depends upon increasing it.

But the danger in this abnormal use of the term "restraint of trade" lies in the fact that judicial opinion is so influenced by uninformed popular sentiment and prejudice, that it makes the existence of the power to injure equivalent to the injurious use of that power; in other words, so to interpret the law and the theory of public interest as to make an industrial concern bad because it is successful and strong. This is not merely encouraging the worst prejudice in the community, and putting a premium on demagogery and the perversion of economic law in the development of industry, but it is converting all that into law.

It may be said, as it already is said in certain quarters,

that although this Merger decision might be dangerous if logically applied to all the industries that would fall under its interpretation it is not likely to be so, because no President would be rash enough to enforce a law that would create such havoc with the industries of the nation; and that it serves the good purpose of warning large corporations what may happen if they go too far. But what does all this mean? It means that, if possible, it has created a still greater menace than the doctrine itself. It means that the reading of this interpretation of the "restraint of trade" into the law of the land gives the President (who is always largely a political creature) the power to turn the legal machinery of disruption upon any corporation, or corporations, at his will. Nothing worse than this could possibly happen. It is bad enough to have such a law; it is bad enough to have such a public sentiment regarding "restraint of trade," and it is even worse to have that sentiment incorporated into a judicial decision of the highest authority; but to have the enforcement of that decision, the working of that law, become subject to the mere caprice of any man, is the worst of all. No concern can tell when it will be safe from, or subject to, the disrupting process of this decision. The more successful it is as an industrial enterprise, the more independent it is of political influence, and the more it should refuse to comply with the blackmailing demands of politicians, the more it would be likely to be judged in "restraint of trade."

This country can stand almost all kinds of law, because if a law is bad there is a chance of creating a public opinion in favor of its repeal; but no country, and least of all this country, with its complex and far-reaching interdependent relations in industry, can long endure being subject to a disrupting and penalizing system whose operations depend upon the personal caprice of a single individual. It goes without saying that if this decision is finally sustained it will be one of the most corrupting forces in American public life. Large corporations will necessarily feel and know that immunity from attack must be bought, just as protection from adverse legislation has been purchased from the boss politicians of several leading indus-

trial states. It is not in the courts where the corruption will strike (at least at first), but in the avenues that control the administration. If it is a crime to consolidate competing roads in the West, why is it not equally a crime to do so in the East, where it has already been done?

If this theory becomes a part of our legal system, besides being a menace to the normal progress of industrial enterprise, it will be the greatest debasing force that our politics has known. All this, together with the anti-trust legislation, and later on the anti-labor-union legislation that is sure to follow, arises from, or is greatly stimulated by the false popular use of the phrase "restraint of trade."

After a while it will be urged against a protective tariff that it is in "restraint of trade," because, under certain conditions, it restricts or even prevents the importation of foreign products. It will apply to trade unions, to the shortening of the hours of labor, and to a mass of strictly beneficial legislation. It will be useless to plead against this that it does not restrict, but will tend to increase trade, because it has already been decided by the courts that a fact or real restriction has nothing to do with the case. The mere fact that it could do so constitutes the crime.

It is high time, and, indeed, it is now essential to the rational discussion of public questions, that such phrases as "trusts," "monopolies," and "restraint of trade," should have some relation to facts, and not rest on imaginary possibilities. If, however, the press and our public men, and especially our courts, lend themselves to this sensational use of sensational phrases, and convert fiction into law, it needs no prophet to foretell a disturbance of our industrial conditions that will surely bring our progress to a halt. The decision of the supreme court of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding, nothing that does not restrict and tend in its operation to lessen trade can be, in any sense of public policy, a law in "restraint of trade," and any legislature, congress or court that shall interpret industrial strength and capacity to succeed against competitors, into "restraint of trade," is itself acting in "restraint of trade" and to the detriment of the welfare of the nation.

## THE TARIFF PROBLEM IN ENGLAND

The notion that foreign trade should be entirely exempt from taxation has so long been the accepted policy of England that it has become a national dogma. English economists and politicians have become so habituated to accepting the free trade policy as a foundation principle that the question of a protective tariff has passed out of the realm of discussion and practically become a matter of political creed. The Englishman no longer argues it; he simply preaches it. It is no longer a question of reasoning, but one of exhorting. Even Herbert Spencer, when arguing against state interference, as the final reason, says: "It is opposed to the principle of free trade," which is very much like saying of a problem in physics, "It is opposed to the law of gravitation." This has become largely true of the Tories, who are naturally protectionists, as well as the Liberals, who are the professional doctrinaires on the subject.

After half a century's experience with free trade, however, a few inconvenient facts are presenting themselves. One is that under the free trade policy English agriculture has been practically paralyzed. It has not merely failed to keep pace with the progress of manufacture; it has declined. Millions of acres of land have gone out of cultivation because it could not compete with the products of the United States, and this is not because wages have risen in the agricultural sections of England. They, too, have fallen, while the wages of labor in every other part of Christendom have been rising. During the last fifty years the wages in the manufacturing counties of England have nearly doubled, and the wages of agricultural labor have actually decreased, being a shilling a week lower to-day than they were in 1840. This fact, of itself, was not sufficient seriously to affect public opinion. Nobody seemed to care much about the welfare of the English agricultural laborers; they came along as the appurtenances of the baronial estates from the middle ages, and in the public mind are connected, in a way, with the landed aristocracy. The whole free trade propaganda,

from Peterloo to the repeal of the corn laws, was tinctured with an antagonism to the landed aristocracy. To say that a policy would injure the landed class would tend rather to make it popular than otherwise. Of course there was a reason for this. The land-owning class had arrayed itself against all the progressive measures of the first half of the century, and was especially opposed to the democratic spirit. It opposed to the danger point the passing of the first reform bill, and, for that matter, all other reform bills except the last one.

On the other hand, nearly all the progressive movements of the nineteenth century have been encouraged, and many of them urgently advocated, by the Liberal party, which has associated it in the public mind with the progress of the nation. The Tory party, besides being the party of the landed aristocracy and of royalty, was the party of the established church, and the opponent of popular education and of a free press. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Liberal party should in the main be regarded as the party of the people—the party of the masses as distinguished from the classes. This idea has been further emphasized by the fact that the Liberal party was really a manufacturing and commercial party, and, after all, the progress of England during the nineteenth century, especially the latter half, has been bound up with the advancement of manufacture and commerce; so that free trade, to the popular mind in England, is associated with the idea of material advancement, trade expansion, increase of wages, and the advancement of personal and political freedom and of popular education. Little wonder, then, that half a century of this should have converted the free trade idea into a political dogma.

But time does its work just the same. Economic law pays no attention to political expediency or popular delusion. The free trade policy has done its work. It crippled English agriculture, destroyed the influence of the agricultural population as home consumers, and prevented the advance of social welfare and intelligent citizenship in the fairest and most beautiful sections of the land. For a time it gave England a larger market for manufactures by enormously increasing her foreign trade. This seemed fully to atone for any injury it perpetrated

upon the agricultural population, but with the development of factory methods and machinery, and the exceptional organizing influence of the United States, and now of several other countries, this advantage of foreign trade is steadily and perceptibly disappearing. Everybody now knows that England's superiority in the foreign markets of the world is rapidly declining; in some cases it has practically disappeared. The United States is forging ahead, and has now passed England as a manufacturing country.

English manufacturers are awakening to a painful realization of the fact that they are dropping behind; not that they are actually going backward, but that the United States, at least, is going so much faster that it is getting distinctly ahead in the race. They were entirely indifferent to the injury the free trade policy inflicted upon the domestic welfare and consumption in Great Britain so long as they could keep conquering foreign markets, but now that there are practically no foreign markets to conquer, and they are in great danger of having to share those they already have with others or lose them altogether, they are aroused from their comfortable slumber and are anxiously inquiring, "How do the Yankees do it?" They are sending commissions to this country for the purpose of making special investigation of the manner and method of conducting American enterprise. This may do much to arrest the rapid decadence, but it is clearly too late for England to recover her lost ground and her industrial ascendancy.

The industrial condition of the world has changed, as it was bound to do if progress continued. England's policy of sacrificing home for foreign markets, in the hope that she would always be the manufacturer for the world, in the nature of things could not be permanent. Progress itself would render that impossible, because any considerable national development must have domestic manufacture, and hence every country as it rises in the scale of civilization does more and more of its own manufacturing. Consequently, in the world's progress the home market inevitably becomes a more and more important factor in the advancement of every nation. To the extent that England should have continued to supply the manu-

factures of the world, other countries must necessarily have remained agricultural, raw material producers, and therefore remain comparatively backward in civilization. But all this was overlooked in the free trade or foreign market theory of Great Britain, and she is now face to face with the fact that home markets and domestic manufacture are increasing throughout the world, and that her chance of holding the foreign markets she now has, or of capturing new ones, is gradually growing less.

This fact is beginning to be keenly recognized in England, and the best English minds are seeking a remedy. Many are charging it to the trade unions, insisting that the restriction of output and other trade union restrictions are responsible for England's declining industrial power. But this is looking in the wrong direction for the cause. It is very much like what is occurring in New England, where the manufacturers are trying to compete with the South by reducing the wages of their operatives, instead of putting in the latest improved machinery. The best they can hope to do (or the worst) is to reduce wages five, or at most ten cents, for weaving a hundred yards, whereas the latest machinery will reduce the cost over twenty cents without reducing the wages. Their case, therefore, is hopeless on that line. So with the English. It is not a case of union restriction, but the failure to keep up with modern methods, and relying on a mistaken national policy. If unions were all abolished, and they could return to the twelve-hour system and unlimited output, it would not save them.

Perhaps nothing can restore England to the relative position she occupied twenty-five years ago. No country ever regained its position as world-leader when once lost by declining power or prestige. England will probably never again be the leading manufacturing nation of the world; that position is gone, and gone forever. True statesmen, however, will recognize the situation, and instead of trying to blind themselves and others to the facts, will try so to shape the policy of the empire as to prevent further decline, which can be done only by revitalizing English industrial life. But no foreign market policy will do this. If it is accomplished at all, it must

be by returning to the home market policy. Of course, this is not an easy task. The difficulty is not so much economic as psychological. The practical adjustment of economic conditions will be found much less difficult than the change in public prejudice regarding the foreign market theory.

Indeed, the free trade prejudice is so strong in England that politicians and statesmen shrink from encountering it. Of all English statesmen, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain alone seems to have the sagacity fully to recognize the situation, and the courage to face it. For some years Mr. Chamberlain has seen that sooner or later, and the sooner the better, England would be compelled to modify her free trade policy in the direction of encouraging and protecting the home markets of the empire. He proposed a kind of industrial "zollverein," which should have free trade between England and her colonies, including India, and protection against all outsiders. That met with some approval. It was even heartily endorsed by such high British authorities as the *London Times* and the *London Economist*. The *London Times* of March 27, 1896, commenting on this proposal, said:

The United Kingdom has for nearly half a century pursued, steadily and avowedly, a free-trade policy, while the colonies, on the whole, though with some remarkable exceptions and with no approach to uniformity of action, have drifted into protectionism. This divergence has hitherto frustrated the various projects that have been discussed for an imperial customs union, which would, at once, establish free trade within the empire as it exists within the vast territories of the United States, and would bind together the members of such a federation by ties of interest as well as those of sentiment. . . . Yet we believe the vast majority of people of the United Kingdom will heartily endorse Mr. Chamberlain's desire.

But this was such a violent departure from the free trade doctrine that the conservative or unionist administration, though protective in sentiment, did not dare to sustain it. Political expediency laid it on the table. But events go on, and England shows no sign of recovering her previous position. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence of even further relative decline. The experiences in South Africa have added

greater emphasis to this fact. However true it may be that no other country would probably have made more progress against the Boers, in the circumstances, than did the English, the fact remains that England lost prestige as a great military power by her failure to defeat the Boers within a reasonable time. The Boer war, however, brought out more clearly than ever the military importance of the British colonies to the progress and welfare of the empire. Political friendship and loyalty of the colonies to the mother country largely depend upon the industrial welfare of the colonies.

Mr. Chamberlain has had a keen, realizing sense of all this. By the English people and by the world he is generally held responsible for that war, and he is really responsible for the generous treatment of the Boers in the terms of peace. His recent visit to South Africa has also emphasized the subject anew to Mr. Chamberlain. He has evidently labored with his cabinet colleagues until Mr. Balfour and the majority of the cabinet substantially agree with him that, both for the military strength and industrial safety of the British Empire, it is necessary to have closer industrial solidification. Therefore, Mr. Chamberlain has once more proposed the change of policy from free trade to moderate protection.

His scheme, as presented to his constituents in Birmingham and in the House of Commons, has two essential features, both of which are eminently sound. The first is that the English market shall be protected for the products of the colonies by imposing a slight tariff (a shilling a quarter) on breadstuffs from all foreign countries. This would give the colonies an advantage over the United States and all other countries in the English market, which is the greatest market in the world for wheat and other agricultural products. This would be so much contribution to the prosperity of the colonies, and, if they are to become strong, this is entirely necessary.

Take Canada, for instance. Although there is a constant stream of emigration to Canada, the population shows scarcely any increase. The reason is that as fast as immigrants crowd into Canada from Europe, increasing the population at the bottom, they flow out from the top into the United States. As

soon as they become good mechanics, they cross the line into this country, where they can earn very much more money. Nothing can stop this but the improvement of economic conditions and opportunities in Canada. Perhaps nothing would contribute so much to this in so short a time as to give Canada protection against competition in the English market. The same is true of the other colonies. On the other hand, as fast as Canada, Australia and other colonies improve in prosperity, they become better producers for English manufactures; in fact, those parts of the British Empire become to one another what the East and the West are to each other in the United States; each becoming a growing market for the other.

Of course, the opposition that has already begun to show itself will be practically a repetition of the cry of 1846—"cheap bread for the people." The free-traders will make a great ado about raising the price of the "poor man's loaf," forgetting altogether the importance of increasing the poor man's industrial prosperity. Cheap bread is of very little account, if it costs low wages and frequently recurring periods of short employment. There is a certain class of men in this country (and they appear periodically to increase) who make a business of trying to frighten workingmen by telling them how they are oppressed by the high prices of products due to protection. But experience has taught the people of this country that their welfare is not measured so much by a cent a bushel on the price of wheat, or half a dollar on a suit of clothes, as it is by the general prosperity of industry, which always brings with it constant employment and opportunity for increased wages.

The English people have many lessons to learn in this respect before they will be proof against the plausible but almost empty cry of "cheap bread." But Mr. Chamberlain, who has frequently shown himself to be more than a match for any of his competitors, has, coupled with his scheme for federation and protection, a scheme of industrial insurance that will give an old-age pension to workingmen. The readers of this magazine are familiar with the importance of labor insurance that will furnish workingmen an income after they reach the age of industrial inefficiency; indeed, there is little

doubt but that will be the next great step in the economic improvement of labor. It is making its way, little by little, in almost every other country. One of the important features of modern industry is how to provide for aged laborers; in short, how to protect the workingman against the menacing danger that hangs over him like a nightmare, of being dependent when he ceases to be profitable as a laborer. Mr. Chamberlain, who has long been an advocate of old-age pensions, has had the sagacity and courage to couple the two, namely to give to the workingmen in pensions what is collected at the custom house for protection. If he can convince the workingmen of England of the genuineness of the proposition, and establish industrial insurance, he will have little difficulty in creating the popular sentiment among the masses in favor of the shilling-a-quarter tax, if it is to go into the fund to be distributed in old-age pensions.

It appears that Mr. Balfour and the majority of the cabinet are already in agreement with Mr. Chamberlain, but hesitate about introducing a bill into parliament until the people have passed upon the proposition in the parliamentary election; in other words, they want a mandate from the people before taking the responsibility of so important a step. So the probability is that the immediate political issue in England will be colonial federation, protection to home industries, and labor insurance. If the Unionists take hold of that proposition with zeal, and in good faith follow Mr. Chamberlain in this campaign, they will have the liveliest issue that has occurred in a generation. It surely ought to win, and if taken hold of in good earnest now probably would win. Mr. Chamberlain's proposition is in the only direction in which any material improvement in England's industrial condition is to be found, and to vote it down is only to postpone the day of relief by blocking the only avenue for revitalizing the industrial life of the empire and welding the colonies to the mother country by an economic tie that no mere political motives can break asunder.

## RUSSIA AND JAPAN

AN AMERICAN IN CHINA

That a conflict between Japan and Russia is inevitable and not far off is evident to even a casual observer of political conditions in the Orient. The basis of the coming difficulty is neither sentimental nor insignificant, and moreover it is one that diplomacy can not alter or avert.

Japan has the largest shipping and carrying trade in Manchuria, having had 177 ships with a tonnage of 463,000 tons entering the port of Niu-chwang in 1902, and a much larger proportion for the year 1903 up to the present time. Her imports at this port amounted to 2,160,329 *taels*, and the exports from this port to Japan for the year 1902 amounted to 8,749,458 *taels*.

Russian shipping amounted to one steamer, and her imports and exports were—none.

Japan's exports to Korea in 1901 were 11,372,550 *yen*, and her imports from Korea were 10,052,438 *yen*; while Russian imports and exports were merely nominal.

Japan's exports to all of China amounted, in 1901, to 42,925,579 *yen*, having doubled in four years, and her imports from China were 27,256,938 *yen*.

The principal exports from Manchuria and Korea to Japan are food products and fertilizers. On account of the light and shallow soil of Japan, fertilizers are absolutely essential to the existence of her forty millions of people, and most of this she obtains in the form of beancake from Manchuria at the port of Niu-chwang. The larger part of the ten million *yen* of imports from Korea to Japan is food essential to life. The fifty-four million *yen* of exports from Japan to Korea and China is almost exclusively made up of manufactured articles.

If Russia gains absolute political control over Manchuria and Korea, as present appearances seem to indicate she will, she would destroy Japan's shipping and the market for her goods, shut off her supply of fertilizers and food products, and have her rival completely at her mercy. Japan, therefore, in

her brave efforts to prevent the Russians from overrunning and absorbing Manchuria and Korea, is fighting for her very existence. Russia's political control there not only stops the expansion of Japan, but takes the food out of her mouth, destroys her shipping, and robs her of the best market she has for her manufactured goods.

The problem that is set for Japan by Russia's aggressiveness is to fight or die. Those familiar with Japanese skill and courage in war do not hesitate to decide what course Japan will choose. The present attitude of Russia in Manchuria and Korea is arousing the war feeling in Japan again, and should Russia become engaged in war with Turkey, there is little doubt that Japan would attack her in Manchuria.

Russia's failure to surrender the port of Niu-chwang and to evacuate Manchuria in accordance with the Manchurian Convention, on April 8, and her equipping and arming several thousand Chinese brigands, under Russian officers, and sending them to the vicinity of the Yalu river, are indications to Japan that her life is in danger.

Russia has made good progress in extending her power on the Pacific, and the recent additions to her fleet of war vessels give her a naval force said to be equal to that of Japan. Her recent advance into Manchuria, her building of the splendid commercial city of Dalny, her advent into the shipping trade, with a large and permanent fleet of good steamers for the coasting trade of China and Japan, together with her European fleet, are notices to the Japanese and British allies that Russia is here for business as well as for the extension of her political authority.

Russia's land concessions at Tien-Tsin and Hankow, her political interests in the Belgian syndicate that is building the railway from Peking to Hankow, the construction of a line of railway from the Siberian railway line near Lake Baikal to Peking, now just begun, together with her absorption of Manchuria, which is now complete, regardless of the so-called evacuation—all indicate beyond a question the active intention of Russia to dominate all of China, and to enter at once upon the control of North China.

The death of Li Hung-chang, whose great riches are said to have come through Russian associations, was a severe blow to Russian power at the Chinese court for a time. Russia's well-known methods soon made for her a great friend in Yung Lu, who became the power behind the throne after the death of Li Hung-chang. This man, who became very wealthy and all powerful, has recently died (leaving a fortune of many million *taels*, five million of which are said to be in the Russo-Chinese Bank), and Russian influence at the Court of Peking is supposed at this moment to be again very much weakened.

Japan no doubt is making every effort to arouse China to the point of joining her in a united effort to push Russia out of Manchuria. Yunn Shihkai the present Viceroy of Chili and Shantung, who has the organization and control of the Chinese army of the north, is supposed to be friendly to Japan and desirous of resisting the onward movement of Russia.

The natural feeling of the merchants and masses of the Chinese in Manchuria and North China is intensely antagonistic to the Russians and friendly to the Japanese. If this union of forces between China and Japan could be cemented into an active aggressive movement against Russia, a line of Russian advance could be fixed at some definite and safe point; and it would remain there as long as the union lasted.

Such a movement, supported by Great Britain and the United States, is the only course that will preserve the integrity of China.

The wonderful progress of Japan, shown best, perhaps, in the volume of her imports and exports, which has arisen from 26,246,544 *yen* in 1868 to 508,166,187 *yen* in 1901, is the greatest marvel in the world's history. Whatever we may think of her short-comings, we are bound to respect her progress, her national pride, and her ambition, and we must sympathize with her in her present peril caused by the southern movement of the great Russian power.

Besides a sentimental interest of sympathy, the United States has a more substantial and practical interest in the welfare of Japan. In 1897, our imports from Japan were 52,436,404 *yen*, and in 1901 they were 72,309,358 *yen*. In

1897 our exports to Japan were 27,030,537 *yen*; in 1900 they were 62,761,196 *yen*, and in 1901, 42,769,429 *yen*. Our exports to Japan are growing with wonderful strides, having increased one thousand per cent. in ten years, and now amounting to over one-fourth of all her imports; hence we have a twenty-five per cent. interest in her future welfare. Our exports to Japan are somewhat in excess of our exports to China, and, measured by this standard of interest, we have as much at stake in the future of Japan as we have in that of China.

Japan's ability to purchase from our country is dependent very largely upon her being able to hold her own in Korea and China. If she loses her hold on these markets, if her shipping and commercial interests in these countries are dominated by the political control of Russia, her expansion will not only be checked, but her present life in trade will be sadly injured. If we expect to become a world power, if we expect our influence and trade in the Orient to grow, we must aid, encourage, and protect Japan.

The coming conflict in the Orient is not the contention and competition of industrial forces for supremacy; but the battle is to determine whether the rest of the world shall have equal industrial and competitive opportunities in the trade of China, or whether the army of Russia shall drive Great Britain, Japan, and the United States out of the trade and commerce of that country. This conflict can not be avoided. Delay on the part of our country will not prevent our becoming involved in the difficulty. Delay and inaction now means a greater loss of blood and treasure in the future.

Japan, Great Britain, and the United States are inevitably bound together in the question of the "Open Door in China." The United States has a direct trade interest in Manchuria of over 8,000,000 *taels* per annum, and this is endangered by the Russian domination of Manchuria. In addition to our present trade in Manchuria and our indirect interest in the trade of Japan in Korea and North China, the greater problem of the integrity of China is at stake. The maintenance of Chinese control of the entire Empire of China is absolutely essential to our commercial life in the Orient.

## THE PASSING OF THE RAPPISTS

W. G. DAVIS.

One hundred years ago, in 1803, George Rapp, founder of the Harmony Society, whose members were afterwards variously known as Rappists, Harmonites, and Economites, came from Germany to America. Under the able leadership of "Father" Rapp and his adopted son, Frederick, the community flourished in its earliest stages. During the first quarter of the century its members built three different towns, and increased in influence and in numbers. From the pinnacle of its temporal power, which was reached in 1831, the society has slowly but steadily declined in membership, with a resultant lessening of activity. The last three quarters of the century of the society's existence was marked by deaths, desertions and dissensions, and by law-suits, which the society always won, but which sapped its resources.

In the last decade, under the stimulus of a youthful senior trustee, the society rallied sufficiently to free itself from debt and to receive what was virtually a certificate from the Supreme Court of the United States that it was still in existence. This was last October. Six months later the end came. About the middle of April all the holdings of the Harmony Society in the Sewickly Valley, including the town of Economy, about seventeen miles below Pittsburgh—some 2,600 acres in all—were sold to a syndicate of Pittsburgh people. Father Rapp's community endured for a century—longer, with the exception of the Shaker communities, than any similar venture in this country. Its fate, however, now swells the long list of failures in the United States of experimental socialism.

It may be worth while to sketch roughly the history of the Rappists before essaying to analyze the causes of their early successes, of their later failures, and of the ultimate end of their society. Accounts of the beginning of Harmony Society conflict in regard to detail. It is certain, however, that Rapp and his followers left Germany to escape persecution and imprisonment

at the hands of the constituted authorities of church and state. For the most part, they were descendants of the Pietists and Mystics, and came to America that they might have personal and religious freedom.

In 1803, Rapp, who was then about forty-five years of age, accompanied by a son and two other persons, came here to "spy out the land." The three hundred families that had gathered around him in Würtemberg, followed in a short time, making some thousand persons and sailing in three ships. The first division, even before any organization had been effected, occurred either on the voyage or immediately after landing, for more than a third of the company left Rapp for another leader. But, according to the Rev. Alexander Kent, who made a special report upon coöperative communities to the National Department of Labor in 1901, six hundred remained with Rapp and settled upon 5,000 acres of land about twenty-five miles north of the city of Pittsburg. They called the place Harmony, and on the 15th of February, 1805, they "solemnly organized themselves into the Harmony Society, as a strictly communistic body."

The first ten years of the new society were marked by industry, thrift, and prosperity. A decade at Harmony, however, convinced the shrewd Germans that they could do much better if they had water communication, and better soil for their vineyards. So in 1815 they sold out for \$100,000, and founded New Harmony upon 30,000 acres of land on the banks of the Wabash, in Posey County, Indiana. New Harmony soon blossomed forth as a thriving manufacturing and agricultural community, but the Harmonites remained there only nine years. The climate did not agree with them, and they did not like their neighbors. The Rev. Charles M. Skinner humorously comments upon this phase in the new life of the Rappists by remarking that they were so "harassed by ignorant and ruffianly 'white trash'" that they probably wondered if they had really got that for which they left the Fatherland—personal and religious liberty. At any rate, the Harmonites sold their Indiana community to Robert Owen for a home for his New Lanark colony. The price paid was \$150,000. Then

they returned to Pennsylvania, bought about 3,000 acres on the Ohio river, and founded Economy. This settlement was destined to be the scene of their greatest period of prosperity, as well as of the decay and death of their society.

The Economites, as they soon came to be called, founded their new town in 1825. Again they prospered; but it was at the very height of their prosperity, in 1831, that they met with another large loss in membership. That year an adventurer was welcomed, "who claimed to have special illumination in spiritual things." When the atmosphere of the place ceased to be congenial to him, he withdrew, taking with him about one-third of the members and the society's note for \$105,000. A good idea of the resources of the society at that time may be gained from the fact that the note was paid in one year. The vigor of the colony during the first three decades of its history is clearly shown by the ease with which it paid this indebtedness, and by its success in building three thriving little towns in as many different localities, the colonists meanwhile living comfortably and well. A final evidence of the community's prosperity is found in the fact that at the time of the civil war there was a half million dollars in the treasury. This was converted into coin and buried in the earth until the war was over. The very ease with which the Rappists' Society accumulated wealth was, indeed, one of the causes of its disintegration. But before discussing this phase of the history of the community it will be well to inquire as to the means by which at first it so greatly prospered.

The majority of Father Rapp's followers were thrifty peasants and mechanics. At Harmony, their first home, they had, beside their farms and vineyard, a grist mill, a saw mill, a tannery, a distillery, and a woolen mill. At New Harmony, their second home, they reproduced their old plant on a larger scale. At Economy the same cumulative process went on. They added a large hotel and cotton mills. They also produced silk, and their wines were noted for their purity. Best of all, they "struck oil" on their property, and this undoubtedly was what later saved the venture from bankruptcy. At Economy their nearness to a city market helped them. Laborers were

attracted to the place by the high wages offered, and at one time the outsiders at work in the various industries outnumbered the colonists in the ratio of ten to one. It was a town of "Economy," in fact as well as in name. The shade trees along the streets were fruit-bearing, and instead of flowering vines over the doorways there were fruit-bearing vines. There were no drones in this colony. Even toward the end, when death and desertion had reduced the community to a handful, when the factories were dismantled and hushed, and when most of the little brick houses had been rented to outsiders, no idlers were tolerated.

In seeking for the causes of the earlier successes of this unique community one's attention is naturally riveted upon the personality of its founder. Rapp showed that he possessed qualities of leadership even in Würtemberg, where his success in gathering a considerable following had incurred the displeasure of the clergy. Under the responsibility that came with the transplanting of his followers to the new world, his qualities of leadership measurably developed. He was intensely religious, as, indeed, were most of his followers, but, combined with his religious zeal was much good sense and sound judgment. The successful founding of three new towns in as many decades proved conclusively that he was possessed of administrative genius. Such a man in the industrial world of today would be ranked as a "captain." He was also assisted by his adopted son, Frederick, who was much the same kind of man.

In the first place, then, the early successes of the colony were due to Father Rapp's able leadership. In the second place, the colony had capital. None was required for admission but all the property one possessed had to be pooled in the common fund. It had been pointed out that the colonists were thrifty and, although the exact amount of their original capital is not known, it is certain, from the ease and rapidity with which they developed their plant in the first instance, that the society at the start was not cramped for capital.

Another cause of the first successes is found in the fact that the Rappists were religious zealots, and one very practical

part of their religion was that everybody should be frugal and industrious. There were no holidays, no amusements, no recreations and none of those provisions for leisure and enjoyment that were characteristic of many of the later ready-made Utopian schemes that have been tried in this country. It was in the earliest years of the experiment that the religious fervor of the Rappists led them voluntarily to adopt the rule of celibacy in their communal life. And although this never was enjoined, and although the sexes were never segregated, all accounts agree that the new rule was not broken. This remarkable decision of the Rappists also throws considerable light upon their early prosperity, as it does also upon their later decline. It practically meant that all the members of the community were productive laborers. The expense and energy incident to rearing the young was eliminated. Practically each colonist produced more than he consumed, and wealth was rapidly accumulated.

This voluntary rule of celibacy, which must be taken into the account when analyzing the causes of the prosperity of the Rappists, is likewise a large factor in the causes which led to the failure of the experiment. It not only prevented the perpetuation of the colony by natural processes, but it also tended to make the community unattractive to outsiders, especially as the diametrically opposite principle of free-love was the rule in many of the socialistic experiments, which in later years were in competition with the Rappists. It foreshadowed the decay of the community.

But there was one other reason for the decadence, and, like the one already assigned, it cut both ways. The contiguity of the growing city of Pittsburg, which at first had inured to the well-being of the community, in that it furnished both laborers and a market, later worked to the disadvantage of the Rappists. The colonists, to be sure, were making money from their varied industries, and from their oil-wells, but money was being made even faster in the worldly urban centre which was under the capitalistic régime. These Germans were thrifty and shrewd. The community engaged in speculation and made some unfortunate investments. The more energetic and enterprising, to

whom the atmosphere of the new world was more tonic than their own wine, yielded to the temptations of the growing city, and abandoned the quiet community life for the pulsing life of the great mart. It is difficult to trace the losses in membership with exactness, but it seems tolerably certain that they were due almost wholly, except for the two wholesale desertions noted, to these two causes. Early in 1805 the Rappists numbered about 750. In the '70's, competent writers placed the membership in the vicinity of 100. In 1901, Mr. Kent wrote of Economy: "But instead of existing now as a community, it is practically a little trust, administered more or less justly in the interests of less than a dozen people."

It is not the present purpose to picture in detail the quaint and interesting town of Economy, with its restful quietude, and with many evidences of the thrift of by-gone days upon every hand. Nor is this the place to describe the routine daily life of the community. It has been said above, however, that the Rappists had no worldly pleasures. The single exception to this was their fondness for music. They had a park with a band stand, and they had a band. This is worthy of note for two reasons: First, the band will live on after the Rappist movement has ceased to be; and, second, because the leader of the band, John Samuel Duss, has been the central figure in the litigation of these later years, and, as an administrator of the Economites' property at the end, his striking personality forms a sort of parallel with that of the founder, Father Rapp.

Mr. Duss sums up his connection with the Rappists in these words:

I came here with my mother when two years of age, took charge of the Economy school in 1888, joined the society in 1890, and was elected junior trustee two years later, with Father Henrici as senior trustee. When he died, I took charge of the finances. Father Henrici . . . never kept any books, the consequence being that when he died the society owed over \$1,500,000. It was my task to pay these debts and put the society on its feet, and I did so.

Looking back over the century that witnessed the passing of the Rappists, it is extremely difficult to divine the motives that led them to start their socialistic experiment. There is

nothing to indicate that George Rapp had ever been imbued with socialistic doctrine. Up to his time, More's "Utopia," perhaps, was the most distinctive socialistic publication. The teachings of Owen, St. Simon, and Fourier had not become general. All that is known is that Rapp and his followers sought a place of personal and religious freedom, and a fair assumption is that they almost unconsciously adopted the form of society they conceived best fitted to secure to them the liberty which they sought. It is certain, moreover, that neither at the beginning, nor at any time during their history did they announce to the outside world that they had found a mode of life transcendently superior to the standards of living under the industrial and competitive régime about them.

The student of socialism notes that it can not be said, as has been said of many failures of similar experiments in this country, that the supposed tendency of the communal life to idleness and laziness was responsible for the passing of the Rappists. On this point, John Rae, in his "Contemporary Socialism," says:

Their economic prosperity is based, as economic prosperity always is, and must be, on their general habits of industry; and the natural tendency of socialistic arrangements to relax these habits is in their case effectually, though not without difficulty, counteracted by their religious discipline. Idleness is a sin; . . . and the conquest and suppression of idleness is a continual object of their vigilance and of their ordinary devotional practice.

It can, however, be said of the Rappists, as has been said of other socialistic ventures in this country, that when the communal life touches the edge of competitive environment, when the contrast between the two is seen from the viewpoint of actual experience in community-life, the fittest members of the community forsake their ideals, and take their places in the stress of the competitive industrial régime that is working out its own social salvation through the slow but sure laws of natural evolution. Then comes the end of the community. The process may be longer or shorter, but the end is inevitable. It has always been so. It was so with "Economy."

## THE "READER" AND THE MANUSCRIPT

ROBERT ADGER BOWEN

There is an interesting region in one of the spheres of human endeavor about which the general public knows very little, for over it there hangs either the mystery of expectation or the silence of despair. Those who venture into this insecure border-land of an enviable state are not themselves apt to learn any of its secrets, or to profit by any that they might discover. Upon its shores are many wrecks, and only now and then sails away a full-rigged craft to win renown for itself and profit for its launchers.

To have done with allegory, this is the state of incipient authorship, that too often unhealthy condition of would-be author of books of imaginative literature. It is so nearly always imaginative literature that is essayed that it is beside the present purpose to consider any other phase of the labor of these perturbed minds. Now and then an epic of Miltonic echo—a very far echo, indeed, it must be admitted—is heard, or a collection of spring verses, vernal only in the condition of its thought and form, emerges from the mass; but it is fiction in all its grades and dimensions that is the medium generally employed by these ambitious, and sometimes very unhappy, aspirants for literary fame.

It is a fallacy to suppose that the day of the hungry author is of the past. The genus still exists. Often, doubtless, he is author because he is hungry; but the more serious case is to be met where he is hungry because he yearns to be author. Grub Street has as many tenants as of old; has, indeed, overflowed its bounds in every direction. The inability nowadays to construct a story of some kind is a very rare piece of distinction, and too frequently the ability to do so makes grubs of many who might unfurl wings in more practical states of being.

It is this large class of self-appointed grubs that butters the bread of that modern product, the literary Reader who,

by a strange anomaly, is apt to be something of a grub himself, with the added gift of discernment. So important a factor, indeed, in the success or non-success of the struggling author is the official reader that it is through his eyes alone that an insight can be gained into the *terra incognita* lying between the submission of a manuscript and its final disposition. There are many compensations in his lot; and that is well. Besides the interest in his work—for "hope springs eternal" in the breast of the Reader, and not all submitted manuscripts are bad—if he has a sense of humor there will be much to stimulate him, and he will find something to laugh at, more about which to smile, and not a little to make him sadly serious. Especially is this the case if his official position brings him into personal touch with the submitters of manuscripts. He early comes to find that the temperament that really is artistic is as nothing in its vagaries to the temperament that is not artistic but wants to be; and that the pride of full-fledged authorship pales into humility before the lurid self-satisfaction of him whose authorship yet lacks a publisher's imprint. If he be possessed of skill in reading human nature, as well as skill in reading manuscripts, a panorama of human emotions will unfold before him, ranging all the way from the timid shrinking of some gentle little woman who submits her work as that of her dead husband, and looks very crushed when she calls to carry it away, to the blatant defiance of the man who proclaims that he has already disposed of the dramatic and operatic rights of his story and will bring it out as a book, if it costs him \$50,000: "Just you wait and see!" And the Reader will wonder over and over again, when it brings so much pain and discomforture, and, unless at the most success, so little reward of any kind, why people will persist in writing books.

In nine cases out of ten an author makes a mistake when he carries his manuscript in person to a publisher, and he almost invariably makes a mistake when he goes for it upon rejection. The temptation to enlarge upon its admirable features when submitting it may be overcome, and the manuscript left "to speak for itself;" but the disposition to question

its rejection is far harder to resist. This may show itself only in an appeal for criticism. It may take the form of a painful resignation that goes deeper than reproach. Sometimes the inclination not to die without a struggle, without an appeal to "the head of the house," is evident, though it must be admitted that the most caustic flings are apt to come by mail upon receipt of the notice of rejection. These, however, being more impersonal, are easier to endure, even when of most virulence, and afford rather pleasant diversion. It is the postman who brings the underlined retort: "*If you had read my manuscript, you would never have refused it.*" Nevertheless, unless an author is willing to recognize the fact, and abide by it, that the examination of his work by a busy publishing house is a matter of business and not of sentiment—not even, it must be said, of strictly literary appreciation, at all times—he had much better resort to the public carriers. Even when he takes his bitter pill bravely, it is not always the easiest thing to hand him his disappointment, for publishers have the milk of human kindness in them, after all, as well as certain other human attributes. Therefore, an author stands in his own light when he precedes the advent of his manuscript by several letters written with the avowed object of making "your readers mad," so as to enlist their interest in the work of art to follow. The work of art might safely be left to perform that mission itself.

There seems to be a queer notion afloat in the minds of some of those who would write, that before any labor is undertaken on their part it is well to call upon a publisher and sound him upon the chances of success. These seekers after knowledge make very difficult half hours for their entertainer, and they little know how much to his credit as a diplomat it is that they generally depart very much encouraged. It is only necessary to tell them that before any decision can be reached it is imperative that a part, if not all, of the work in question be submitted for consideration. This seemingly obvious suggestion tides them over the slough of unwillingness to begin the labor of writing without tangible encouragement. The stimulus does not always last, however, and frequently the prospective work never appears for examination.

Mention has been made of the egotism of the fledgling author, but this particular characteristic exhibits itself in so many degrees of conceit that it is particularly interesting. Hopes for the sale of even a million copies of the work have been calmly expressed as a bait for the publisher's greed; sales surpassing that of any book but the Bible are suggested, and one who has read all of Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray, and compared his own novel with theirs, "can not see wherein my work is in any way inferior." Parents with their first-born, which they reiterate is an exact replica of true life, add confidently that nothing like it has ever appeared in print—in which, perhaps, they are right. Nor should it be supposed that this comfortable vanity is only on the part of those who might reasonably be expected to know no better. Strange as it may appear, the most preposterous claims are often advanced by men of high standing in other fields of human effort, in science, theology, and education, and the dreary novel with a purpose is nearly always the offspring of this class. Never is the Reader more forcibly reminded of the unhappy fish out of water than when an eminent jurist, or theologian, or educator flounders about hopelessly through three or four hundred typewritten pages of a love story with a problem attached, and it is precisely these authors who, misinterpreting the receipt of a personal letter of rejection instead of the usual stereotyped form which they are spared by reason of the principle To him who hath shall be given, refuse to take "No," and after perfectly futile revision of what has no life, submit again, and possibly yet again.

The Reader becomes an adept in gauging the probabilities of a manuscript by its outer envelopes. For his "wash day," he will infallibly sort out the heavy wooden box, the tin box with hasp, the leather case made to order just the size of the paper, the bundle done up in one, two three, four encompassing papers, and tied with silk ribbons within, the package held together between heavy pieces of plank an inch thick, and the work elaborately bound in morocco with illumined initials. These are the sentimental, the audaciously realistic, the frankly sensational. If, by any token, he has made a mistake about

them, he will be quick to recognize it, and only too glad. These are the manuscripts, too, that contain skilfully prepared pitfalls for the dishonest Reader; page 201 placed after page 202, pages 56 to 60 turned upside down, pages 300 and 301 stuck together by a wicked little dab of mucilage, "not so deep as a well nor as wide as a church door," but sufficing. And sometimes, the Reader, smiling craftily, will take especial pains to read these pages, and leave them exactly as he found them. That is *his* little joke!

It is not so pleasant to recall the pathos that often confronts the Reader of manuscripts for a large publishing house. When, heralded by letters almost illegible through the visitation of disease, a manuscript comes, showing evident traces, in old-time paper and faded ink, of a hope long ago abandoned and now again revivified through stress of want, the duty of refusal is not an enviable one. When some frail little woman, never realizing that a far better work than the one she carries in its worn wrappings would bring her only a few hundred dollars at most, leaves a manuscript that from its very title presupposes failure, the Reader again wishes that people wouldn't do such things. Sometimes an early success leads on to continued effort, resulting only in renewed failure. The hand has lost its cunning; the little spark has been quenched; but the endeavor and the hope remain—and, alas! the disappointment. A life's experience is put into a big manuscript representing untold labor, a scarce articulated hope, a railway journey, and, at the last, one of those horrid, "We have examined your manuscript, but—" and then the writer asks with tears in his eyes and in a burst of disappointment: "And do you really advise me to bury it?" "Do you think," asked an old lady, as she untied the parcel, examined the sheets, and patted them together smoothly with nervous fingers, "that its being written in pencil and on poor paper had anything to do with its rejection?" She was assured that it had not. "And you don't think my seeing the head of the house would do any good? It ought to be published, you know!"

The quickness of intellectual fence sometimes displayed by a questioning author serves to strengthen the rules of pub-

lishing houses to refrain from giving specific criticism of rejected manuscripts. Yielding under force of pressure, and giving as one reason the general fault of "crudeness," the questioner responds: "Of course it is. It is my first novel." Yielding weakly again, and to another, and replying: "Lack of action; too much dialogue," the response is quick: "I was told exactly the opposite elsewhere."

Occasionally an unexpected play of humor will enliven these interviews. "To what other house would you advise me to send it?" a disappointed but not depressed author asked.

"Suppose you try So and So," was the response.

"I have," came the ready answer.

"Then you might try So and So," naming another well-known publisher.

"I have. I have sent it nearly everywhere, even across the water."

"Then I really can not advise."

"What kind of books does ——— ——— publish?"

"Good ones!"

"Ah! that is just the trouble," came her reply, with an illuminative smile.

These considerations bring to mind a curiously opposite attitude not infrequently met with, that is an entire loss of interest on the part of its author in an unsuccessful manuscript. Recognizing, possibly, the fact that these offspring of a less sane hour are never to be much credit to them, their authors leave them without compunction on the hands of the publisher, and bother their heads no further. The problem of taking care of these waifs of fortune sometimes assumes a serious responsibility for a conscientious publisher. He does not want to destroy them, he cannot always send them back to their unnatural progenitors; and so, one by one, they accumulate and gather a kind of historic value in process of time. There stands to-day an incubus on the hands of a well-known publishing house, an accumulation of thirty years of these rejected and neglected manuscripts. Not long since an effort was made to reach their authors by an urgent appeal to claim their own in those instances where an address was dis-

coverable. Many of the manuscripts, indeed, bore neither name of author nor address. Of these appeals the greater number was returned by the postal authorities, the addressees not to be found. Doubtless, in many cases, he or she had gone long since where communication with this world, by post or other carrier, has not yet been established. A number of these letters were, however, answered. More than once the author had been dead many years, but his family was desirous to receive the manuscript, and enclosed money for its transportation. Some answered disclaiming any recollection of ever having been guilty of the act imputed, but enclosing funds for the gratification of their curiosity. Others disclaimed even more positively, and would have none of the manuscript. One or two papers bearing the signatures of writers whose skirts have since swept the high places of fame were ignored entirely, while the mass, occupying precious space, continues to hold its burden of dead hopes, to the indignant protests of the janitor.

It has often been asserted, though probably it is asking too much of human nature to expect any but the successful author to believe it, that the publishers are glad to receive manuscripts and eager to discover promising material. Frequently, indeed, they are willing to play the part of incubator to some weakling that yet shows unmistakable signs of life, and coax it into a state of deserving publicity. This is really more, however, than any author has the right to expect, and there are writers of undeserved reputation who would speedily get their deserts could their publisher dare allow their work to get into book form in the shape submitted. The ignorance shown by some contributors of the rudiments of the art, not alone of story-telling but of the writing of fair English, would be inconceivable to the uninitiated. Yet sometimes, even out of the chaotic mass of errors of grammar, punctuation and form, something hopeful appears, and a book is licked into shape. To encourage a novice in this way gives the Reader a genuine satisfaction. When the same thing, however, has to be done for the man of reputation, the ears of that man of reputation, if he have any sense of self-respect, must burn frostily. There

is more than one author of note who pays for his wines, and is able to look like a man of letters, through the editing of some one in his publisher's office of whom he has never heard.

Some day an enterprising publisher will bring forth to the world a specimen of the worst of the manuscripts received within a year's time. It must be worst in a saving degree, or the public, accustomed to some tolerably poor books already, may take it too seriously. Such manuscripts turn up now and then, and are turned down with a sense of an opportunity gone to seed. They are *naïve* with the very acme of *naïveté*. They do not possess humor, but they possess you with humor. They are of the kind that never yet have appeared in print, and a fortune awaits that publisher who at some time will see it in his line of profit to indulge in this particular bit of humor.

There is one specimen of contributor that stands as a *rara avis* even among his kind. This is the man who has a theory, and seeks a publisher much as an inventor betakes himself to the patent office. He is the literary "crank," the man who has an idea that will subvert the conclusions of scientists, throw a white light on the mysteries of elemental nature, solve the social problem, or put into a simple shape the means of revolutionizing economics. Nor is it always an easy matter to discover the fallacy in the argument, so much method is there in the madness of these minds.

It would convey a very wrong impression were it implied that nothing good comes to the mill of the Reader. Much that is good comes, much that lacks just the thing wanted by only some intangible something. These are the cases that fret the conscientious Reader. But "the little more" that is so much is not there, or considerations that really are entirely apart from literary merit come into play, and the manuscript, with genuine regret, is declined. For the pulse of the reading public is a very fickle thing, and any day its beat in response to a certain style of fiction may slacken to the point of collapse. At that moment some lucky publisher will strike a new note, tentatively enough, and the old gods are forgotten. Then, whether the Reader be forgotten in his turn or not, he may know that he has done a good day's work for his house.

## AMERICA'S SHARE OF THE WORLD'S COMMERCE

The very full and detailed review of the World's Commerce, prepared by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce of the Department of State, shows a satisfactory condition in our trade throughout the world. There is, however, a revelation that will be startling to many who have regarded the export movement of American trade as indicative of the highest national prosperity. This review shows that the United States has not yet reached in her exports the volume that is sent out to the world by the English producers; and it shows, what may be considered most remarkable, a tremendous falling off in exports in 1902.

We are not of those who regard the volume of export as revealing our national prosperity. We consider that our domestic trade indicates in a far more satisfactory manner the real progress and the real prosperity of the nation. But to those who pin their faith in national prosperity to the volume of our foreign trade, this review of the business of 1902 will be greatly disappointing. It shows a large increase in imports, and a very large decrease in exports. According to the balance of trade theorists, it must seem that we are losing ground because we are increasing our purchases abroad, and decreasing our sales.

The Bureau of Foreign Commerce takes the view that this report "affords substantial ground for encouragement as to the permanency of the export movement in manufactured goods." Mr. Emory, Chief of the Bureau, in his introduction adds to the above assertion the statement that "the pre-eminence of the United States, as a universal provider of food-stuffs and raw material has long been established," and thinks that there is no need for the apprehension felt by pessimistic thinkers that the export movement would be temporary and limited to periods of over-production, "resulting from a sluggish home demand."

The decrease in our exports has been largely, possibly chiefly, due to the abnormal demand at home, especially in the

iron and steel trades. The demand for our productions at home has been so great that the foreign market, with its smaller profits, has not invited a continuance of the large exports of 1900 and 1901. There is nothing to justify the fear that the decrease in exports indicates less prosperity or less business; but, on the other hand, it really indicates a greater volume of transactions at home and, therefore, larger profits to the producers.

The figures showing the relative movement of imports and exports are, however, rather amazing. In 1901 we imported \$880,419,910 worth of goods, and in 1902 we imported \$969,270,009 worth of goods. This shows an increase of \$88,850,099. On the other hand, in 1901 the exports amounted to \$1,465,375,860, and in 1902 they had shrunk to \$1,360,696,355, or a loss of \$104,679,505. This is cutting away very fast the still large margin between exports and imports. A comparison of the figures is interesting. In 1901 the excess of exports over imports was \$584,955,950; while in 1902 the excess of exports over imports was only \$391,426,346, or a lessening of the gap by \$193,529,604. At such a rate, the balance of trade would soon swing against us, to the dire discomfiture of all economists who fancy that unless we are selling a tremendous volume in excess of our imports we are rapidly declining. It is interesting to point out here that Great Britain exported in 1902, \$1,379,847,300 worth of products, and that during the same year she imported \$2,573,698,600, and Great Britain is still the wealthiest country in the world.

The Chief of the Bureau of Commerce calls attention to the fact that the foreign market has been neglected temporarily for the more profitable home market; but he does not think that this neglect has been nearly so great as might have been expected in view of the tremendous demand at home. He concludes that "the business world of the United States is becoming more and more alive to the fact that foreign trade is a good thing to hold on to, even during flush times, and is likely to be of immense value at a turn of the tide." He adds:

The economic movement which has characterized the recent industrial development of the United States in the creation of vast consolida-

tions of capital, with the resulting augmentation of productive energy, promises at no distant day to outstrip any possible growth of domestic consumption. When such overproduction occurs, the result will be the same as if our prosperity were checked and the home market were again stagnant. In other words, we shall probably, in any case, have a large surplus of manufactured goods which we must export.

There is abundant evidence that Europe is girding herself for a commercial struggle with the United States. The cry of "Americanization" has had its effect, as is seen by the eagerness with which European governments and commercial bodies are sending commissions and individual investigators over here to examine and report upon our method of manufacture. There is no doubt that, in England and Germany especially, every effort is making to lessen the superiority of American skilled labor, and of the efficiency of American machinery. This report calls attention to the probability of a fiercer competition and rivalry that will seriously challenge our claim to primacy in manufacture and commerce. One evidence is the large purchase of American machinery and the introduction of American methods of production in many centers of European industry, and also in the adoption by other governments of the American plan of having its consular officers act as business agents in informing home producers of conditions and movements abroad.

The British commercial agent, Mr. E. Seymour Bell, has advised his government of the prospect of a glut in our manufactured products. It will be remembered that some years ago when there was such a glut, the excess of our products was successfully unloaded upon England and the continent of Europe. It is not likely that such a movement could be conducted as successfully at this time, because of the fact that Europe is now more awake and is better prepared to meet us in any competitive commercial move. Mr. Bell thinks that as long as the United States is as prosperous as it is to-day, industrial conditions in Europe are not seriously threatened by us. He thinks that the home market is so attractive that it will absorb most of the American product and so leave Europe, for a while, to its home markets. But he intimates that over-

production is certain to occur within a short time, because so much capital is being employed in building new works in order to bring the supply up to the home demand. When this home demand is met and exceeded, there will be, he predicts, another attempt to pour upon England and the continent the products of American factories. - He even thinks that efforts are now making by railways and steamship lines to carry the volume of this over-production to the shores of Europe. In the meanwhile, however, it is gratifying to know that the home market is not only maintaining and increasing its demand, but that it still remains the most attractive outlet for American products.

The interesting fact is brought out in this report that American firms and individuals are making large investments abroad. In Mexico alone, \$500,000,000 has been invested by Americans within a short period, and at least one-half of it within the past five years. A similar investment is being made in Canada, and even in Europe and Asia, where American firms are establishing works and are sending their expert operatives. This is notably true as to Germany, Austria, England, and Russia.

There is another interesting fact to which attention is directed in this report, and that is the employment of skilled American labor by foreign producers in order that they may meet American competition. As Mr. Emory says, "We are exporting not only the produce of our factories and workshops, but money, skilled labor, brains." The American Consuls have been directed, in view of the noticeable increase in the employment of American operatives and machinery, to report on the number and efficiency of Americans in foreign employment.

Some interesting experiments were recently made in Japan as to the efficiency of American labor, with startling results. Americans were employed, and were put at the same kind of work as the Japanese laborers, working the same number of hours a day, and the conditions of labor being as nearly as possible the same. The Americans were paid very much higher wages, and an exact comparison was made as to the value of the product of the native and the foreign labor-

ers. The result showed that the American more than made up for his excess in wages, and that he entirely outclassed his competitors in the Japanese factories. These experiments in Japan have called attention to the superiority of American skilled labor, and is already resulting in the wider employment of Americans. There is no doubt that such a movement will tend more and more to the employment of American labor and American methods in Japan, and also to the gradual improvement of native conditions and to the efficiency of Japanese labor. Of course it will also tend to lessen the Japanese demand for American products.

As to the permanence of the great export movement that recently set in the report remarks:

If our export of manufactures and our industrial investments in foreign countries have created a reciprocity of interests which is likely to continue and to be woven more and more inextricably into the web of our industrial activity, we cannot afford to rely any longer upon instrumentalities not specially shaped for promoting trade intercourse with other nations, and successful in the past only because they happened at the moment to be sufficient. The question whether our sudden emergence from domestic seclusion into the wide arena of international competition was to be merely transitory would seem to have been definitely settled in the negative. The measure of our success in that competition remains to be determined. It must depend not only upon the efficiency and greater productive capacity of our workmen and the superiority of our wares, but upon the ability we develop in winning trade from strenuous and skillful rivals. In other words, we must have the best machinery, not merely for manufacturing goods, but for selling them when made.

In a table giving the relative volume of trade of the principal commercial countries of the world, it is shown that the United States is second to England in exports, with Germany third, and France fourth. There is not so great a difference between these countries as is generally supposed. For instance, the total export of France is, in round numbers, \$820,000,000, Germany \$1,200,000,000, the United States \$1,360,000,000 and Great Britain \$1,380,000,000. These four countries have the great bulk of the world's trade; the next in order is British India, with a total of \$425,000,000, and then follows

Austria-Hungary with \$423,000,000. In imports, Great Britain leads by a tremendous margin, with a total of \$2,600,000,000, in round numbers, and Germany follows with \$1,360,000,000; the United States is third with \$970,000,000, and France is fourth with \$850,000,000.

The trade with the Philippine Islands, of course, occupies a considerable portion of this review for 1902. The result is not especially gratifying to "imperialists" and "greater Americans," who fancy that the archipelago will soon pay for its cost in treasure and blood. The imports into the Philippines were \$19,000,000 in 1899, \$25,000,000 in 1900, and \$30,000,000 in 1901. The exports were \$15,000,000 in 1899, \$23,000,000 in 1900, and \$24,000,000 in 1901. The customs duties were \$4,400,000 in 1899, \$7,700,000 in 1900, and \$8,160,000 in 1901. The tariff revenue shows a decided advance over Spanish times when it averaged between \$3,000,000 and \$3,500,000 a year.

As to exports, the report says:

For the three years named, United States took 27, 13, and 19 per cent. of the exports, respectively; United Kingdom 24, 35, and 45 per cent.; Germany less than 1 per cent. for each year; France 3, 11, and 5 per cent.; China, including Hongkong, 27 per cent. in 1899, but in 1900, when exports to Hongkong were first recorded separate from those of China, the latter is charged with but 1 per cent., and in 1901 less than 1 per cent. of the exports, Hongkong receiving 16 per cent. in 1900 and 12 per cent. in 1901, which would indicate but little actual trade with China in 1899; Spain 7, 7 and 5 per cent. for the three respective years; Japan 7, 3 and 6 per cent.; British East Indies 3, 4, and 3 per cent., and all other countries 1, 9 and 4 per cent. The great increase of exports to the United Kingdom consisted principally of hemp, a large portion of which eventually reached this country; the exports of this article to the United States show over a million dollars increase in 1901 over 1899.

It will be seen that not only is the United States not getting a large trade in the Philippines, and not only that it is not getting all the trade, but that our rivals are really getting a larger and larger proportion of the trade from our little dependency in the Pacific, which was to prove so profitable an investment. In the three years, 1899, 1900, 1901, for which the figures of imports are given, it is seen that the United

States plays a comparatively insignificant part in the commerce of the islands. For instance, Europe sold to the Filipinos in 1899, in round numbers, \$8,000,000 of goods, in 1900, \$12,000,000, and in 1901 \$13,500,000. The United States sold in 1899, in round numbers, \$1,350,000 in 1900 \$2,150,000, and in 1901, \$3,500,000. Our percentage of the imports into the Philippines is now about 12 per cent. of the total. England leads us by more than \$2,000,000 a year, and has increased the volume of her trade more rapidly than we have. Germany and France have also made tremendous advances in the volume of their trade, and so has Italy, and, in fact, almost every country of Europe. It does not seem likely that the United States will ever get a very large trade in the Philippines or that it will ever control even the bulk of the commerce. This is rather a discouraging outlook for "world ambitions" and "imperial" schemes.

Our Asiatic trade does not seem especially prosperous, and is certainly shown to be less encouraging than the press reports have hitherto indicated. The two great markets in Asia for American goods are, of course, China and Japan. In 1900 China imported from the United States, according to this review, \$18,500,000 of goods, and in 1901 we had increased this to \$25,500,000. In the same time Japan reduced her imports from the United States by \$10,000,000, or from \$31,000,000 in 1900 to \$21,000,000 in 1901, making a decided loss in the total imports from the United States into these two countries.

Separate figures are not given for Manchuria, and these would be decidedly interesting as revealing the possibilities of the "open door" in that province; but figures are given for Russia in Asia from which a pretty accurate forecast may be made as to the effect upon American trade of Russia's ascendancy in Manchuria and throughout northeastern Asia. In 1900, Russia in Asia imported from the United States \$2,786,000 of goods, and in 1901 only \$1,013,000. This is disappointing, and indicates that Russia in Manchuria would probably mean a decrease in the immediate volume of our trade, and a loss of opportunity for the development of our commerce throughout Eastern Asia.

# THE LABOR QUESTION IN THE PHILIPPINES

EDWIN MAXEY

It is admitted by nearly all who have studied the question that the most troublesome problem in the Philippines to-day is not a political but an economic one. The military problem has been successfully solved. Civil government has been established, and, while not perfect, it is in good working order. It is an immense advance upon anything heretofore enjoyed by the Filipinos. In the education of the inhabitants, upon which much of their future welfare and the success of their government necessarily depend, admirable progress is making. But here, as elsewhere a solid economic foundation is indispensable to the stability of the government and the happiness of the people. The labor problem is therefore as fundamental as it is important.

To this problem two solutions have been offered; (1) a resort to Chinese coolie labor; and (2) the industrial education of the native Filipino.

The first of these is the method resorted to in Singapore and certain other European dependencies in the Orient; and, from the purely commercial point of view, it no doubt has its advantages. Yet it seems to me a drastic solution and one that can be justified, if at all, only by the most urgent necessity, and we are not convinced that such a necessity exists. Granted that the Filipino laborer is shiftless, unreliable, and indolent, rather than thrifty, steady, and energetic; this is no exceptional or accidental condition of affairs, but is the normal condition throughout the tropics. The incentive to industry is not native to these climes; whether or not it can be developed without denationalizing the inhabitants, is still an open question. It is cowardly to confess impotence at the beginning. The mere possibility of success is sufficient to warrant an honest, persistent effort, and until such an effort has been made, I should no more favor the turning of the industries of the Philippines over to Chinese coolies than I should those of Porto Rico or Florida. From the viewpoint of the exploiter, it matters not whether his labor is performed by a Filipino or a Chinese coolie,

but from that of one having the welfare of the Philippine Islands at heart, it does.

While I have no prejudice against the Chinaman as such—on the contrary, I freely admit that he has many admirable qualities—yet my observation compels me to believe that his presence in large numbers in the Philippines would render still more difficult the solution of what is at best an exceedingly difficult problem. And there can be no question that, unless the Chinese are excluded by law from those islands that are easily accessible to them, the rapidly increasing demand for labor will lead to their immigration in numbers not pleasant to contemplate. If unrestricted Chinese immigration is a menace to the United States, it is a far greater menace to the Philippines. If American civilization cannot assimilate a few Chinamen in the United States, how can it hope to do so in the Philippine Islands, where the grist would certainly be far larger in proportion to the numbers of grinders? If the Filipinos are to be made a self-dependent, self-reliant, self-governing people—and that is undoubtedly our purpose—we should remove, in so far as possible, the obstacles in the way of this; and of all obstacles the most serious would be the exclusion of the Filipino laborers from Philippine industries.

The first solution must therefore be dismissed as extremely unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it can be made to harmonize only with a purpose of exploitation, a purpose utterly unworthy of us as a people.

Let us examine the second solution proposed. Upon this we find a divergence of views as to the most expedient means. Certain persons, who have made a most careful study of the question on the spot, hold that, as there is at present a decidedly insufficient supply of native skilled labor, to meet a temporary emergency it would be advisable for Congress so to amend our Chinese immigration law as to admit Chinese skilled laborers to the Philippines under certain restrictions. The restrictions suggested are, in substance, as follows: A head tax of five dollars; that the employer of such laborers give bond for their return to China at the end of five years; and that for each skilled Chinese laborer there shall be employed at least

one Filipino apprentice. This plan is recommended by the Philippine Commission in its report for 1902; and also by Professor Jenks, of Cornell, who has been making a study of conditions in the Philippines and other oriental dependencies. On the other hand, the labor organizations are opposed to the further admission of Chinese laborers, whether skilled or unskilled, insisting that conditions do not warrant it.

While I have the greatest respect for the opinions of the Commission, as well as for those of Professor Jenks, and hesitate to question them—not because they are the views of officials, but because these authorities have had superior opportunities for studying the matter—yet I feel compelled to challenge their judgment in this instance. My position rests upon the fact, not disputed by the Commission or any one else, that the Filipino laborer needs not only greater technical skill, but an increased respect for the dignity of labor and a better appreciation of the importance of it to his own welfare. Such being the case, it seems to me we are putting the cart before the horse when we advocate a plan that throws the emphasis upon the development of technical skill at the expense of what I conceive to be more important factors, and which I consider to be conditions precedent to any considerable development of technical skill. Men do not, as a rule, become laborers until they are convinced of the importance of labor as a means of increasing their well-being, and they do not become really efficient laborers until convinced of the dignity of labor.

In the temperate zones, nature teaches man the importance of labor by making a considerable amount of it necessary for procuring food, shelter and clothing. But that is not true of the tropics; here nature supplies the primal necessities of life with very little effort upon the part of man.

In the tropics, therefore, the stimulus to industrial effort must be very largely intellectual rather than physical. An increase in wants, *i. e.*, a higher standard of living, lies at the root of the whole matter. Until the Filipino can be brought to see the need of a higher standard of living, no satisfactory solution of the Philippine labor problem is possible. In other words, while the Filipino remains satisfied with

his bamboo hut, his breech-clout, and his bowl of rice, he will never desire to become, and will never become, the factor he should be in the industries that are indispensable to the welfare and progress of his native land.

Now, it is not reasonable to suppose that the standard of living of the Filipino will be very materially raised by the influx of a class of laborers whose standard of living is no higher than his own. Nor is it in accordance with human nature that his respect for the dignity of labor would be increased by seeing the bulk of the labor performed by those whom he considers as his inferiors. The truth of this statement has been amply and painfully illustrated within our own borders. Even technical skill will be acquired more willingly and more rapidly from a superior or an equal than from an inferior. The imitation and emulation of inferiors is not characteristic of mankind. As illustrating the truth of this, I quote the following from a report by H. W. French, assistant to Major J. B. Aleshire, the officer in charge of the army transport service :

The average Filipino will not work under Chinese bosses or acquire their methods, but seems anxious to learn from Americans. It is earnestly hoped that the Filipino labor of this department may not be supplemented by Chinese. Should it ever have under its control shops, dry-docks, or marine railroads, it is believed better satisfaction would be obtained from the Filipino under carefully selected American foremen than from Chinese. The Filipino under the Chinese will only bring discord, indifferent results, and no improvement to the Filipino's natural ingenuity or desire to improve. The Filipino seems ready and willing to learn from Americans the improved methods of performing labor, and displays considerable ingenuity in handling heavy packages. It has often been observed, when an unusually awkward package is to be handled, they advance ideas to each other as to the way of procedure. An American overseer, though not able to speak their language, will show them by signs a simple way. They immediately adopt it and do not have to be instructed a second time.

As to the present efficiency of the Filipino laborer, there is a wide divergency of opinions, ranging from unqualified condemnation to optimistic praise. The engineer in charge of the construction of the Benguet road considers the Filipino hopelessly inefficient, while Major Aleshire, Captain Grant,

and Captain French (already quoted) consider him very efficient. But more important than his present efficiency is his capacity for improvement, and, when properly handled, his willingness to improve; *i. e.*, the prospect for the future. Upon this point, the following from a report by Captain F. H. Grant throws valuable light:

When Manila was first occupied by United States troops in August, 1898, we were informed by business men that it was impossible to secure Filipino labor, and that Chinamen were used for that purpose, as the Filipino would not work. We found this to be practically true at that time, as it was very difficult at times to secure enough labor on account of that fact to handle government freight, so that for nearly two years after the arrival of our troops in the island much of the troop baggage and some freight was handled by soldiers. Subsequently, Filipinos were employed and competent American stevedores placed in charge of them to show them how to work. The result of this action has been wonderful, and to-day this office is handling freight cheaper than it was possible to handle it with Chinese labor in the early years of occupation.

This shows very satisfactory improvement in a short time, and is a prophecy of the improvement that may be expected in other lines, if only the most effective method of education is resorted to.

According to the city engineer of Manila, Filipino labor "is fairly efficient and is improving." Captain Archibald W. Butt, Quartermaster United States Army, in charge of land transportation, says in his report for 1902:

I became thoroughly convinced, on assuming charge of this department, that the Filipinos were entitled to the labor of these islands as far as it was possible to give it. I have made every effort—at times it seemed almost a sacrifice—to advance this cause. My efforts in this direction have more than repaid me for the experiment, as I am not only able to get all the labor I want, but have seen the Filipino develop from what might be termed a shiftless laborer to a constant worker. I fully realize that the conditions in the provinces are not so favorable as they are in Manila for the organization and development of labor, but I am of the opinion that, while the progress may be slower there than here, still the same evolution and development will occur and will become all the more rapid as the native becomes convinced of the sincere and earnest attitude toward his labor.

## NEW YORK'S REFORM ADMINISTRATION AND THE COMING ELECTION

New York city has now had sufficient experience of the Reform or Fusion Administration to come to a definite opinion as to its cleanliness and efficiency, and to decide whether or not it should be retained in office.

In certain parts of this country, and indeed in most democracies, a re-election to office is considered as in the nature of an approval of a first term of service and even, in some cases, as a sort of "vindication." It is not necessary to give such approval, and there is a somewhat widespread opinion that there should always be a kind of rotation in office. But it is quite natural for an administration of this kind, brought together by the forces of circumstance and necessity, and being, in the nature of things, an experiment, to desire a re-election as an expression of public approval.

If the people of New York have considered Mr. Low's administration clean and efficient, they will probably retain it in office. Even if they have not been entirely satisfied with the way things have gone under the reform régime, there must be considered the desperate alternative of Tammany Hall. It is quite probable that even a majority of those persons who are dissatisfied with the administration of Mr. Low could yet find in its records very much that would appeal to them as preferable to a recourse to Tammany misrule and spoliation. The voter must decide for himself as to whether he would prefer the cleanly and efficient administration of Mr. Low and his associates—for unquestionably it has been both clean and efficient—to a return to the order of things under the long domination of Tammany Hall. Even should there be some dissatisfaction with the present state of things, it seems clear that the reform administration has at least given perfect satisfaction to a great mass of the citizens, and sufficient satisfaction to a still larger proportion, to influence a judgment in its favor.

There is occasional questioning in the daily press, and

among political factions, of the efficiency of the reform administration. A fusion government always has elements of great weakness. It can never be welded firmly together. Necessarily, the different factions have different ideas of administration, and varying degrees of greed for office. The factions themselves remain only partially united, and the lines of cleavage are always distinctly marked and ready to gape open on the slightest disagreement. This was painfully the case in the otherwise admirable administration of Mr. Strong, elected by a fusion of factions somewhat similar to the fusion that elected Mr. Low. But Mr. Strong, unfortunately, emphasized rather than diminished the cleavage between the factions that elected him. He had the idea that the offices of the city should be proportionately awarded to the different factions. Such a policy could result in nothing but dissatisfaction and in an undignified clamor for offices. But, in spite of this inherent weakness the Strong administration will be remembered as having achieved at least one brilliant success. We refer to the splendid work of Colonel Waring, the head of the Department of Street Cleaning. The magnificent work of Colonel Waring was almost sufficient in itself to redeem, as it certainly was sufficient to distinguish, an otherwise vacillating and unsatisfactory administration.

The administration of Mr. Low, however, is very much more united, and has been held together by wiser policies than the former fusion government. Mr. Low, it should be remembered was accepted as the head of the fusion ticket because he could unite Republicans, Germans, and a large proportion of Democrats who desired reform. He adopted the wise policy of treating the city offices as gifts of the people, and doing his best to place in them, regardless of party or of factional affiliation, men who could best serve the city. That he made mistakes no one can deny, and no one would think it possible that he should not have occasionally erred; but it must be admitted by all, we think, that the Mayor has succeeded in selecting good, clean, efficient public servants. Of course, his policy was not pleasing to some of the factions, as each desired a full, and probably an excessive, share of the spoils. But it has given to

the city an administration that has been clean and forceful, and one that has made New York more self-respecting and more respected abroad than she has been for many years. It is doubtless true, also, that Mr. Low has succeeded in keeping together in harmonious union the various factions that united to elect him.

The desire for office, and the clamor for office, have been the great peril of this administration, as they are of every clean administration. The usual policy has been, "to the victor belong the spoils," which it must be remembered is a New York policy. It was formulated and put into perfect practise by the New York representatives and senators in the days of Senator Marcy, who formulated its creed in his famous utterance, that there is "nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." New York city, probably more than any other municipality in the world, has been the spoil of the victor. Its offices have been apportioned out among the leaders of triumphant factions. Mr. Low, doubtless, found his hardest task in fighting down this greed for office, which was certain to manifest itself even more vigorously because of the many factions that took part in his election. That he has even partially succeeded, is great praise; that he has very largely succeeded, as most thinking New Yorkers will admit, is his distinct triumph and honor.

One of the most striking reforms brought about by this administration is the purifying of the moral atmosphere of the city. This has been largely accomplished by the Mayor's strong personality and vigorous interest in every department of the city government, and largely by the splendid administration of the Police Department by General Greene. New York has become unprofitable for the exploitation of Richard Croker and even of his able lieutenant, William Devery. Even Tammany Hall, recognizing higher public ideals under the present administration, refuses to accept the "big chief," and has practically cast him out of his councils. These are indications that the corrupt practises of the police have been entirely suppressed or have ceased to be worth the game.

Possibly the chief opposition to Mr Low's re-election has come, up to this time, from the German element. The Germans were very strong for the fusion ticket, and it is somewhat astonishing to find a large proportion of them now antagonistic to its re-election. There is only one possible bond of sympathy between the Germans of New York city and Tammany Hall, and that is "Sunday beer." On the other hand, the Germans, who are everywhere and at all times in favor of municipal progress and the most efficient municipal government, should be in perfect sympathy and harmony with the reform administration. It is not conceivable, indeed, that any large number of the intelligent Germans of New York would consent to sacrificing every hope of good government in the city, in order to get from Tammany's polluted hand their steins of beer on Sunday. They must allow us, as Americans, to have our own ideas of Sunday, lamentable and backward as these ideas seem to them. Americans are still not ready for the "continental" Sunday. We are not yet far enough from Puritanism on the one hand and Quakerism on the other. That we are rapidly advancing to the point when Sunday in the United States will become what it is in Europe—a gala day, or at least a day of recreation and refreshment—there can be no doubt; but that day has not yet come; and Germans should be content to get their beer on Sunday in accordance with the provisions of our laws. These laws permit of any amount of enjoyment on Sunday—picnicking, baseball playing, boating, bathing, golfing—almost anything, in fact, except drinking in public places. In the meanwhile, the Germans can not possibly give up their best hopes, which must lie with such administrations as that of Mayor Low, in order to insure the success of Tammany and the renewed orgies of corruption and spoliation.

The administration of Mr. Low, viewed from all its different sides, must be considered, we think, as eminently pure and successful. It has elevated the public service of the city in every respect, and all classes of patriotic citizens should take part in approving it and in re-electing it.

## FORCIBLE COLLECTION OF UNADJUDGED CLAIMS AGAINST A NATION

HAYNE DAVIS

The fact that Venezuela and her pressing creditors have been unable to agree upon the amount due to each of them, and upon a method of payment, should not close our eyes to the fact that the present relation of South American countries to the rest of the world is a menace to the peace of all nations, and that our Monroe Doctrine, as it stands to-day, is a greater danger than it need be to us and to European states.

As the Monroe Doctrine is now understood in Europe, Every European nation feels free to resort to force in collecting a claim from a South American state, without first proving to disinterested parties that the claim is just; although the doctrine, rightly understood, would require us to interfere, if we were in doubt as to the justice of the claim. By judging in its own case, and proceeding to violent collection of an alleged but unadjudged claim against a South American state, any European nation might involve all Europe and America in war. This fact constitutes an international disease, for the cure of which a new principle ought to be inserted in the law of nations—namely, that henceforth no nation shall proceed to the violent collection of a claim against another nation without first proving to disinterested parties that the amount claimed is justly due. It is to the interest of all nations that such a principle shall be agreed upon, and that the Hague Court shall be selected as the judge.

Who would be injured by the universal acceptance of such a principle? No one. Who would be benefited by its acceptance? Both the nations directly concerned in any dispute that may arise and all the nations they do business with. The war scare of such a proceeding as the Venezuelan blockade costs the nations that do business with the contending parties more than the entire amount involved in the controversy, and, if war had resulted, each of these disinterested neutral nations would

have lost more than the amount involved. It would be a real gain to these outside nations to lend the money necessary to pay off the judgments, and never get it back. But money loaned to pay off such a judgment would be repaid.

This is on the supposition that other nations would not be drawn into the war. Suppose other nations were drawn in; for instance, that the United States were drawn into a war against a South American nation begun by a European power. No matter what the outcome might be, the cost would be immense, and if such a thing could be prevented by a universal agreement to refer all money claims to arbitration, it is certainly to our interest as well as to the interest of all parties concerned that such an agreement be entered into. Would not such an agreement do away with the danger of a world-wide war over South America? The people of the United States would look very differently on a forcible attempt to collect an unadjudged claim against a South American state and a debt clearly established before a tribunal that our people know to be impartial. It is my opinion that if a war over an unestablished claim should last more than one year, it would be impossible to keep our country out of it. And if the United States should take part in such a war, the chances are that other European powers would be drawn in, and the cost of the conflict would be incalculable. But if such a claim were referred to the Hague Court, and were decided by that court to be just, and the South American nation involved refused to pay it (which is not probable), the people of the United States would be slow to take a hand in the war that followed. My opinion is that a great many men in the United States would consider it a privilege to furnish the money necessary to pay off such a judgment. Mr. Carnegie's offer to supply the cash necessary in the Venezuelan friction over Germany's insistence on cash payment indicates a great deal.

The time is at hand for the United States to render a great service to humanity and at the same time safeguard our own welfare by exerting her influence to bring about an agreement to submit all pecuniary claims to the Hague Court before forcible action on any debt is permitted. We can point out

to all the European and South American nations that even an unjust judgment would be a smaller evil to the nation injured by the judgment than a war over the claim, not to speak of the cost to other nations affected by, though not involved in, the strife. Arbitration would certainly be better than war, even for the losing side. We can also point out to South American nations that they can not lose independence by arbitration, and might lose it by stubbornly insisting upon the right to fight over a disputed debt.

Even though an unjust judgment would be a smaller evil to the losing nation than a successful war, there is no reason to apprehend that unjust judgments will be rendered. The method of selecting judges for deciding a case in the Hague Court justifies the hope that the decisions will be fair and just. Each nation in the Hague Court has chosen those men of its own citizens who seem to it the best qualified for rendering just decisions in controversies between nations. There are twenty-six nations in the Hague Union of Nations, and each is entitled to, and most of them have already exercised the right to name four members, so that the members of this tribunal are very much like a special panel of one hundred men chosen for known competence, from which a jury will be selected to try an important and difficult case. The method of selecting a court from these one hundred men to try a case submitted to the Hague Court is this: Each of the disputants names two members of the court, and these select the fifth, who shall be the chief justice in this particular case. If these four can not agree on the fifth, the disputants entrust the naming of the chief justice to a neutral nation. If they can not agree upon such a nation, each disputant names a nation, and these two select the chief justice. If the chief justice can not be agreed upon in any of these ways, the court can not be constituted; and so the case would have to go to the battlefield for adjustment.

It is sometimes said in our newspapers that the Hague Court is a European institution. When each nation concerned is entitled to select two of the members, and the United States and Mexico both have representatives in the court (and South

American nations soon will have), it is clear that the personnel of any particular tribunal of this court could have American members. In all probability, there will be three or more Americans on any tribunal of the Hague Court selected to try a controversy between a South American and a European nation. The desire of the Europeans to have our President arbitrate the Venezuelan dispute, indicates that European nations will want our members of the Hague Court to judge in claims against South America. There are reasons why this would be wise policy, for our people would be more apt to believe in the justice of a claim adjudged by our people, and therefore more apt to keep hands off in any subsequent complications than in a case where Europeans were the judges.

Certainly the interest of all nations concerned is to have every claim against South American nations adjudged, before a resort to forcible collection. If the nations will not enter into such agreement unless it is agreed to refer all international questions to arbitration, so much the better. What we should stand for is the right of local self-government, with a voice in all things in which we have an interest. As the rest of the world has now acknowledged this principle, first put in practise by us, we should lead rather than follow in the next step forward, the substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of difficulties between nations.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

EVERYBODY REJOICES in the fact that the Hon. Thomas B. Reed left an estate of more than half a million dollars. It is a complete demonstration of the superior opportunities for brains in business over public life. Mr. Reed had devoted his best days to the nation, and with little thanks. He had too much character to hold a responsible public position that involved either the hampering of the administration or the stifling of his own principles, and he retired from public life about as poor a man as when he entered it. During four years in the field of business opportunity, he earned more than double the salary of President of the United States. Public life in the United States offers little except poverty for the thoroughly honest man. How can we expect the best brains to be devoted to the service of the nation, with such meagre reward, and, usually, such an abundance of abuse?

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NOTHING FREEZES the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* when it comes to defending or praising President Roosevelt. To show how powerful, not to say magical, the President's words are, wherever and however spoken, the *Inter-Ocean* has discovered, as the important result of the President's censure for "race suicide," that the population in the borough of Manhattan has increased in the first four months of the present year two thousand more than it increased in a similar period last year, and in Brooklyn one thousand, and in the Bronx five hundred. There is an increase of 3,500 in the population of New York; all due to the magic words of President Roosevelt against "race suicide." If the President would only repeat that a few times, we could more than double our population during the next decade. Washington, Lincoln, and other great men, have done marvelous things; but never before was there a President who could multiply the population by his magic words.

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ACCORDING TO the *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph*, Mr. Bourke Cochran has made the discovery that: "If there is a popular

demand for Cleveland's return to the presidency strong enough to force his nomination upon the Democratic convention, that same popular demand will be strong enough to insure his election."

That is very much like saying that if Mr. Cleveland's friends can put three pints into a quart measure, they can probably put ten quarts into a gallon. The candidate whose success depends upon working such miracles may safely be passed by for the present.

If Mr. Cleveland's name is presented to the convention, Mr. Cochran should be invited to deliver again the address on Cleveland that he presented to the convention in 1892. In that case, the convention would get an idea of the character of both Mr. Cochran and Mr. Cleveland.

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MR. CHAMBERLAIN has again shocked the British Liberals and disturbed the equanimity of the Tories by reviving his idea of an industrial confederacy between England and her colonies. A large number of Englishmen would take readily to this, as it is a practical proposition, if it were not that it interferes with their pride of free trade. Here Mr. Chamberlain encounters an economic prejudice scarcely less deeply rooted than the religious bigotry of Turkey and Russia. The question Englishmen ask regarding Mr. Chamberlain's proposition is not, "Would it be beneficial?" but "Would it be consistent with the principle of free trade?" The longer England clings to that dogma, the more difficult will it be for her to get in line and take advantage of the normal influence of national development. If she refuses to adjust her national policy to the principles of political science, and adheres to the superstition that the best results are sure to come from the unaided "survival of the fittest," she will pay the penalty by falling to the rear of the procession. The man who would insist upon raising his race horses by turning them loose with the indiscriminate herd will not long own the winners. Mr. Chamberlain may be a politician, he may be making a strike for the premiership, but he is advocating a sound proposition, and the more the English sneer at it the more their dull pride will cost them.

IT LOOKS AS IF a little bad judgment might easily create another coal strike. When the strike commission was appointed both sides agreed to accept the decision, and they have apparently done so. One of the conditions of the decision was that a board of conciliation should be appointed, on which both the mine owners and the miners should be represented. Now it appears that the corporations object to the representatives selected by the miners, because they were chosen by the miners' union. In the absence of further information, it would seem that the miners have a right to take whatever means they wish to select their representatives. They have not objected to the corporations taking their own methods of securing representatives.

If Mr. Baer should again so obtrude his personality into the situation as to create a disturbance, it will be more than a pity. The public has not forgotten the last coal strike, and it does not want another. It has a right to expect that both parties will live up to their agreement. There ought to be some way of reaching the party who should wantonly, or through any mere prudish prejudice, bring about a repetition of last summer's experience in the coal mines. A coal strike now is unnecessary, and woe unto them who shall flippantly create one.

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IN THE LIGHT of the new Pennsylvania press law, the *Chicago Record-Herald* has come to the conclusion that "the approval of the gag law by Governor Pennypacker is merely another illustration of the fact that candidates who are named by party gangsters, no matter how high-minded they may appear or how lofty their pledges, never fail to become the servile tools of the bosses who made them."

There is a great deal of truth in this conclusion. When Tammany nominates a respectable man as candidate for mayor, it is safe to conclude that the odds are very great in favor of his finally becoming the servant of Tammany Hall, rather than the servant of the city. On this point Mr. Bryan's estimate of the Cleveland-Hill forces in selecting a Democratic candidate is entirely sound. If the Cleveland-Hill people select a candi-

date, be he Judge Parker, or whomsoever, he can be relied upon finally to be of their type. It is for that reason they select him, and gratitude to the creator generally affects the conduct of the created. A Platt or Quay nominee, though they were angels, may be expected to do Platt and Quay work if elected. For this reason, a bad machine is sure to give bad candidates for public office, for if they are not bad when they are chosen, they will become bad by the very influences to which they are subject. A candidate in New York who should have the open indorsement of Quigg and Gibbs, should be defeated, whatever his personal merits.

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ALTHOUGH THE REMARKS of President Roosevelt about "race suicide" have called forth general comment, they have received little emphatic indorsement. The truth is that very few people accept the sentiment that patriotism requires large families. It is being generally recognized nowadays that civilization does not so much depend upon the quantity as upon the quality of population. The indefinite multiplication of people, with a low standard of social life, tends to hinder rather than help on progress. China's four hundred millions of ten-cents-a-day laborers have done little to advance the civilization of the "flowery kingdom." Civilization advances with the improved social and personal quality of its families, and not necessarily with the increase in their size. Large families are characteristic of poverty or meagre social life, rather than national advancement. The call for large families suggests the voice of militarism rather than of refined civilization. The spirit of a nation should be to insist upon the improvement in the condition and opportunities of every child born, rather than merely to increase the birth rate.

In the June number of the *North American Review* the notion of race suicide is vigorously discussed, from the point of view of common sense, by "Pater Familias." The writer is sometimes more forceful than elegant, and perhaps goes a little to the other extreme in his praise of France; but there is plenty of common sense in what he says, and as the first real criticism of the President's "race suicide" utterances, it is well worth

reading, and doubtless more nearly represents the American point of view.

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IN A RECENT EDITORIAL, devoted to correcting the errors of Mr. Chamberlain's policy for industrial federation in the British empire, the *New York Times* sagely remarks: "It is the conviction of many of the most intelligent students of our fiscal system that what has enabled us to carry the burdens of our hampering customs taxes, miscalled protective, is the tremendous volume, extent and variety of the absolutely free trade we enjoy within our own vast territory."

Think of the ingenuity of reasoning which calls domestic trade free trade! Of course it is the tremendous amount of business done within our own territory that is the cause of our extraordinary industrial success. In other words, it is our home trade, and not our foreign trade, that is the great factor in this marvelous success. It is not because this tremendous volume of domestic trade is *free*, but because it is done in this country; because the workshops and all the diversified forces of production, trade, commerce, industry, and social life, are here, that the results are so astonishingly progressive.

Moreover, much of this is due to protection from foreign competition, rather than to free trade in domestic business. Our domestic business is much freer from taxation with protection than it would be with free trade. If there were no revenue from import duties there would have to be more raised by internal taxes. All that the *Times* says about our tremendous increase in business is so much testimony to the success, not of free trade, but of domestic trade, which is the very thing that the protective policy is instituted to promote, and which free trade would rapidly destroy.

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FROM MANY QUARTERS there comes the evidence of apprehension regarding the growth of socialism. In a recent leading editorial on the subject, the *Washington Post* says:

Socialism is winning converts, not only in Massachusetts, but in other states. It is already a political factor of sufficient importance to command the serious attention of wise politicians in the two lead-

ing parties. For, while it may not be able next year, or in any other year, to carry a state, it may hold the balance of power in one or more states.

There ought not to be any real surprise that socialism is growing, for nearly all the leading papers of the country are in its service—not in its pay, to be sure, but constantly contributing to the very forces that make for socialism. Most of the Democratic papers, and a very large proportion of the Republican papers, devote much of their time to showing that our industrial system is a system of monopoly, oppression, and, often, of robbery. This is exactly what the socialists believe and what they are preaching, and when the great dailies of the country, and the politicians and publicists, lend themselves to this kind of class poison, it enables the socialists to say, "We told you so!" and to point to the so-called "capitalist" as authority for the fact. And every time there is a strike or disturbance among laborers, this is emphasized; then it is taken up by such men as Bryan and David B. Hill and made campaign material of, with the result of a net gain to socialist sentiment. The wonder is, not that socialism is growing, but that it has not grown very much faster.

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WITH AN AIR of supreme assurance, a writer in the *Boston Herald* takes the President severely to task for not attacking the tariff as the only means of curbing the trusts, and, among other things, says: "It is this law which enables them to charge Americans more for their products than they charge Europeans."

The persistence with which a misstatement or false reason will go the rounds, even in respectable quarters, is truly astonishing. This notion about protected industries selling their products cheaper abroad than at home has been foisted upon the public with all the ingenuity and zeal of a religious propaganda. Yet the simple fact is that it is one of the normal methods of business, followed in some form in every line of trade. In principle, it is exactly like the long or short haul practise in railroading; or like selling cheaper to a large customer than to a small one. It is a perfectly legitimate economic policy,

and it may be done, and usually is, to the benefit of both parties. Besides being an advantage to the producer in helping to obtain a wider market for his products, it is often an advantage to the home consumer, because it enables the concern to produce on a larger scale and make the home price lower than it would otherwise be.

But the idea that this is due to the tariff is the acme of innocence. For forty years this has been the practise of English producers, who constantly sell their products cheaper on the continent than in England. Sometimes even there complaint is made against the practise, but they can not lay it to the tariff, so it has to be charged up against the wickedness of human nature. This complaint is simply the wail of those who are ignorant of the principles of business, or are mere political campaigners.

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THE OHIO REPUBLICANS have sounded the keynote of the Republican position on the tariff question. Senator Hanna, who will probably be the chairman of the national campaign committee in 1904, was the real leader in the Ohio convention. The party was more than harmonious; it was positively enthusiastic. The platform gave no quarter to any straddling sentiments about tariff revision, or free raw material. It was emphatic and unqualified. It declared that:

The protective tariff policy of the Republican party has made the United States the greatest industrial nation, astonished the world with the tremendous development of our boundless resources; has added vastly to our foreign commerce; has greatly increased the prosperity of the farmer, and has advanced American labor to the best scale of living ever attained. We oppose all attacks upon this policy, whatever the pretext, as tending to bring back the disastrous days of Democratic tariff revision and free trade. Changing conditions and the possible benefits of reciprocity may call for timely readjustment of schedules, but protection, as a principle and as a policy, must be administered by the friends of American prosperity, and must not be sacrificed.

This declaration leaves no room for the "Iowa idea." If the President and the administration straddle this question during the coming session of congress, or in any way coquet

with the "Iowa idea," harmony can hardly be expected in the Republican party. The declaration that "we oppose all attacks upon this policy, whatever the pretext, as tending to bring back the disastrous days of Democratic tariff revision and free trade," is strong and straightforward, and the further declaration that "protection as a principle and as a policy must be administered by the friends of American prosperity, and must not be sacrificed," is as sound as it is creditable.

Those who really want to dislodge the tariff as a principle in American policy belong to the other party, and should join it. In the coming months, the Republican party must decide whether it will stand for the "Iowa idea" or the Ohio idea. There is no standing room for the next candidate for President anywhere between these two points.

If the American people believe that protection is a sound policy for this country, then fair notice should be given to the would-be candidates for president that the national administration for the next four years will be intrusted to no doubtful hands on that subject. Protection to the condition of our existing prosperity may well be the issue of the next presidential election. Between the positions of Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Bryan, and the "Iowa idea," there is not difference enough to be worth considering. On this subject, Ohio has erected the true standard for the Republican party. If it compromises this, either in its candidates or its platform, it will be inviting defeat, and would deserve it.

## QUESTION BOX

### Should We Join an Alliance Against Russia?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In view of the threatening aspect of Russia in the Far East, and of our own increasing restlessness and desire to mingle more largely in world-affairs, has not the time arrived for the abandonment of our traditional policy of no "entangling alliances"? In other words, would not an alliance with England and Japan, in the present emergency, be good statesmanship, as well as a wise provision for the future?

H. C.

No; our traditional policy is still a safe and wise policy. An alliance between England and Japan is a very wholesome thing in itself. Russia ought not to be permitted to have a free hand in the Far East, nor, for that matter, anywhere outside of her own territory. No nation, which has not established beyond question the rights of individual freedom in religious opinion, and has not reached the most elementary stage of representative government, should be permitted to extend its authority over new peoples. It is in the interest of civilization that such backward despotism, even though it be kind despotism, should not be extended to a larger portion of the human race. But it is quite as clearly not the duty or policy of this country to enter into any alliance for that purpose. Russia and Asia must needs make their progress through the forms of constitutional government, and it is really the duty of the advanced nations of Europe to check the extension of Russia's authority.

Our sphere of activity is in this hemisphere. We have assumed (and perhaps more wisely than we know) the function in civilization of protecting this hemisphere from any encroachment of monarchical institutions. The Americas are the field for experimentation in democracy, and, as the leading democratic country, we claim this as our sphere of influence. For this reason, it would have been well if we had never taken the Philippines, and had simply contented ourselves with establishing a coal station, merely for the purpose of protecting our trade interests; but, having made the mistake of taking the Philippines, it is all the more important that we should

not make another mistake in entering into any alliance with the powers in the European sphere of influence. In other words, the leadership in the evolution from despotism to constitutional government belongs to England and the advanced countries in Europe, with Japan and any others that have seriously taken on constitutional government. Our duty is the leadership in democratic institutions. Of course, our moral influence should always be with those who are leading in progress, and therefore, in this case, it should be with England and Japan, because in their efforts to check the threatening policy of Russia they are protecting the interests of civilization. Our activities in European or Asiatic affairs should be limited to protecting our industrial interests. Civilization follows industry. We have passed out of the militant stage of development into the industrial, and all our activities abroad should be in protecting the rights of industrial expansion, and, of course, resisting (if needs be) any encroachments upon our rights.

No; the United States has a specific function to perform in civilization as the leader of democracy and freedom in this hemisphere. Any alliances with other powers to control the forces in Europe or Asia would weaken its position here. The stronger this republic becomes as the leader of democracy and the developer of industrial strength and prosperity, the more effective will be its influence abroad.

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### The President's Policy of "Dominating" the Pacific.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—President Roosevelt is urging upon this country the policy of obtaining control of the Pacific ocean. Is not the Atlantic now, and will it not be for at least a century to come, far more important to us in a commercial and military sense? Japan and China, it seems to me, have far larger interests on the Pacific than we have; and their interests will continue relatively more important than ours for generations. Must not any attempt on our part to seize the control of the Pacific precipitate the sharp rivalry, and perhaps hostility, of these two countries, as well as of Russia, Germany and France? Is it not also true that the greatest danger that could threaten this country would be a powerful European fleet on our Atlantic seaboard? Why not first complete our defenses on the Atlantic, as well as develop

and protect our commerce on that greatest highway of trade, before indulging these dazzling but vain aspirations for imperial glory?

T. H.

Entirely so. For the same reason that we should enter no European alliance for the control of Asia, we should not attempt to obtain control of the Pacific. What we want, and all we want, is adequate protection to our institutions and industrial interests. We should have sufficient naval strength to insure the safety of our interests, both on land and sea; but we should avoid any effort to control the Pacific, and, for that matter, to control anything except the interests of this country.

We are to-day in high favor with China and Japan, because they are thoroughly impressed by the fact that we have no designs upon them; that our influence is only to see to it, as far as possible, that both shall have the opportunities for the most rapid development of which they are capable. We want no institutional influence or control. There is no reason why we should even wish to dictate anything to Asiatic countries. All we ought to want is to have a fair competitive industrial footing with all other countries, in Asia, and there is no reason why both China and Japan, if it would promote the interests of their home development, should not exclude us from their markets; but they should not discriminate against us in favor of other countries. We should make it to the advantage of every nation to know that we are its friends; that we have no purpose of confiscating its territory, or modifying its institutions. The only influence we care to exercise upon any foreign country is the influence silently exercised by peaceful, industrial intercourse.

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### Mr. Carnegie's Plain Talk to the English People.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In a recent interview with a London paper, Mr. Carnegie said to the English people:

"You led the world once, but now we have taken your place. You can not compete with us in industry, and you will be happier if you will acknowledge it. Our manufactures are already three times as valuable as yours, and our exports greater. . . . Your colonies

are not increasing; Australia seems full; it is a mere rind around an empty interior. South Africa is not a white man's country, and your government's policy of encouraging emigration there, especially of women, is almost a crime. As for Canada, compare her growth in the nineteenth century with that of the United States. Her only chance of a future is to throw in her lot with the Americans."

Is not this rather an overstatement? Is the situation quite as bad for England as Mr. Carnegie pictures it?

J. M.

There is a large element of truth in this whole statement, and it is high time that Englishmen should frankly acknowledge it. England is really suffering from economic "swellhead." Sixty years ago she committed herself to an economic dogma and, through a mixture of pride and conceit, she has neither had the perception nor the courage to correct her error. To be sure, her free trade policy encouraged foreign markets for her manufactures, but it ruined her agriculture and kept a large portion of her population in a state of stereotyped poverty. Her agricultural laborers are receiving a shilling a week less to-day than in 1840—a fact that is true of no other people in Christendom. Her colonies are suffering from the same policy. Canada makes no more progress in population than does Ireland. In all manufactures the United States is so much in the lead that Canada can never catch up. Our wages and conditions are so much better than they are in Canada that the best Canadian laborers and mechanics come across the line; and so, while Canada receives a large number of immigrants, she makes no headway. She receives the poor from Europe on the one hand, and loses her best by emigration to the United States on the other.

Mr. Carnegie is right. England has lost the first place as an industrial nation, and probably can never recover it; and she will not keep the second place if she does not change her policy. If she would protect her agricultural interests at home, and give a protective preference to her colonies in her own market, she might preserve the opportunity, at least, of industrial development within her empire. But with her free trade policy, she is neither keeping the markets of her colonies, nor giving them the benefit of her own markets, with the re-

sult that her agriculture is declining, her colonies are not growing, and as an industrial power in the world she is falling behind in the race.

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### Mr. Morgan's Reward for Organizing the U. S. Steel Corporation.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I see that the *Chicago Tribune* is very much wrought up because the Morgan syndicate has received a dividend, or reward, of \$50,000,000 for organizing the United States Steel Corporation. After saying all sorts of bad things about all who had to do with the reorganization of this corporation, the *Tribune* says:

"It represents simply the sharpness and unscrupulousness of tricky financiers, not the foresight and shrewdness of capable business men. It does not represent constructive ability of a high order, exerted for a good purpose. . . . They [the public] are expected to pay more for iron and steel indefinitely, because Mr. Morgan and other members of his syndicate made a clean profit of \$50,000,000 by launching the United States Steel Corporation."

What is to be thought of such half-baked arguments as this?

M. W.

The difference between this kind of writing and that of half-informed Populist editors and orators is too slight to be perceptible. The editor of the *Chicago Tribune* ought to know that, instead of the price of iron having gone "kiting" up since the United States Steel Corporation was organized, it has remained steadier than it has been for twenty years. Steel rails, for instance (one of the most staple of steel products), have not varied a dollar a ton since the steel corporation was organized. Of course, fifty millions is a large sum, but the organization of that corporation was a large affair; it represents \$1,450,000,000. The syndicate received only about 3½ per cent. on the capitalization. That is only a trifle more than a real estate agent in New York charges for renting property, when he assumes absolutely no risk, and does practically nothing but put up a sign, make out a lease, and collect the first installment, from which he deducts his fees.

The way to judge the United States Steel Corporation is not by what was paid to the men who organized it, but by

what it does as an industrial concern. Thus far it has fully justified the efforts that brought it into existence. If it had done nothing but steady the iron and steel industry, and give stability to the industries of the country, it would have been many times worth what it cost. But it has done more; it has been a good profit-earning property without holding up the public on the price of products. It has performed no such highway tactics as the small coal dealers inflicted upon the community by doubling and sometimes trebling the price merely because it had the power. The steel corporation is charging no more for its products than its competitors, who paid nothing to the Morgan syndicate. It may have been capitalized at a larger amount than was necessary, but the public is not injured by that; the rate of profit is a little smaller, that is all.

If such populistic talk as the *Chicago Tribune* puts forth could encourage the President to extend the anti-Merger campaign to the United States Steel Corporation and other similar concerns, we might witness the destruction of successful corporate enterprise. And the whole nation would be the loser, just as it was by a similar performance from a political motive in 1892-3.

## BOOK REVIEWS

A FIGHT FOR THE CITY. By Alfred Hodder. \$1.50.  
The Macmillan Company, New York.

This is the story of Mr. Jerome's campaign as a candidate for District Attorney of the County of New York on the fusion ticket of 1901. The peculiarly disreputable condition of affairs in the municipal government, due to Tammany misrule, had made this campaign truly "A Fight for the City," and Mr. William Travers Jerome was the Achilles in this desperate struggle. Few men, indeed, have won with such sure genius for conflict the laurels of a hero in municipal struggles of this sort. Mr. Jerome was both a candidate and a platform. His public services had marked him inevitably as the leader of the forlorn hope in the attack on Tammany Hall, and it is little to the credit of the Republican and fusion leaders that Mr. Jerome was considered, after his nomination had been practically forced by his popularity upon by the fusionists, as unsafe, really dangerous, and as a drag on the fusion ticket. They accepted the inevitable with very bad grace, and would not have put Mr. Jerome upon the municipal ticket if they could have avoided it, and would, as circumstances proved, have thereby given over the city to Tammany spoliation.

It is remarkable that Mr. Jerome, with very little experience in politics, should yet have seen, with his clear genius for battle, the exact point of weakness in the enemy's line, and that he should have directed the attack upon this weakest point with the decision and resistlessness of the Napoleon of Austerlitz. His plan of battle, as outlined by himself, shows his mastery of the situation. He said: "I have seen more than one election lost by letting Tammany raise the cry of party loyalty and national issues, and by a set of fools giving their attention to arguing the record of the Republicans against the Democratic party. I have yet to learn that either of the great national parties publicly sanctions blackmail by police captains or by district leaders. The way to win an election is to stick to the point." It was by such clear vision as this that the "drag on the ticket" became its chief element of strength and its assurance of victory.

It will be remembered that after the election, Mr. Edward M. Shepard, the nominee of Tammany for Mayor, with the infallible judgment that comes after a lost battle, ascribed the victory of the fusion ticket to two causes: the notorious conduct of William Devery, Chief of Police, and to the part taken in the campaign by William Travers Jerome.

Mr. Hodder has made a very valuable book that well repays careful reading. It is something more than a mere description of this fight for the city, important as that was; and is a valuable study of the municipal conditions and of the means of reforming a very desperate situation. He has enriched the volume with a great deal of information upon conditions that existed in New York immediately preceding, during, and following the contest with Tammany in 1901. To any one who wishes to inform himself upon conditions in the New York of to-day, not only in politics but in that whole world of business and public life that borders on and is influenced by political conditions, Mr. Hodder's book is valuable and, indeed, essential.

Whether or not Mr. Jerome will fulfill the promise that his biographer sees in his character, is a question of future politics; and it is very likely that the coming campaign, which will be another fight for the city, will enable us to take another measure of his genius for conflict. In the last fight, like Addison's angel, "he rode on the whirlwind and directed the storm." Whether he will be able or permitted to play this high rôle again is to be seen; but he has announced his purpose to fight, for, as he said, "the fight is a good fight; I mean to fight it to the end."

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DEMOCRACY AND THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES. By M. Ostrogorski. In two volumes; translated from the French by Frederick Clark, M. A., with a preface by The Right Hon. James Bryce, M. P. Cloth; pp. 627 and 758. \$6.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London, 1902.

This is probably the most elaborate discussion of the growth of democratic institutions that has ever been under-

taken. De Tocqueville undertook the task in 1838, and Bryce, on a still larger scale, in 1888; but both of these writers confined themselves to the history of democracy in the United States. The present work is more exhaustive than either of its great predecessors, as it gives the growth of democracy in England as well as in this country.

It is a little peculiar that all these historic and philosophic books on democracy should be written by foreigners who live under monarchies, and that none has been written by an American. The first was by a Frenchman, the second by an Englishman, and the last and most exhaustive is by a Russian, whose native land has not advanced far enough on the road toward democracy even to have a constitutional government.

The first volume has an introduction and preface by Mr. Bryce, the author of "The American Commonwealth," and it is a very admirable criticism of Mr. Ostrogorski's work. He thinks that "M. Ostrogorski exaggerates the power and the poison of what he calls the caucus in England, and that he does not quite sufficiently allow for the healthy influences that are at work to correct whatever dangers its growth may involve." This is not surprising. It would be a miracle if a Russian could sufficiently inhale the atmosphere of democracy, especially where it is so subtle in its action as in England, fully to comprehend the hairlines of its operations. Mr. Bryce also thinks his Russian author in error when he says that "English party organization is on the road to becoming what American party organization has become."

The first volume is devoted to the growth of democracy in England. It is divided into three parts, the first of which is an excellent account of the growth of the spirit of representation through the meshes of a thoroughly aristocratic type of government. The second part covers the reign of George III down to the passage of the third reform bill and the advent of the radical movement under the leadership of Mr. Chamberlain. The third part is devoted to the development of the caucus.

Mr. Ostrogorski touches lightly on the radical movements, like the Chartist and the Henry Hunt movement, fur-

nishing some of the most dramatic scenes of those times. The reason he passes them over lightly is probably because they did not directly result in legislative enactments; but they contributed very materially to the public opinion and conviction that culminated in the reform bill of 1832, and to the survivors of that movement was due the second and third reform bills of 1867 and 1874. The anti-corn law movement and the evolution of the free trade doctrine he comprehends more fully; but he does not catch the spirit and force of the recent labor movement, which was such a potent force in liberalizing the sentiment of the higher class in England toward the common people.

Despite these defects, the first volume is a comprehensive discussion of the growth of the democratic spirit and of representative institutions in England. It is a master effort, and is surely an important, though hardly conclusive, contribution to the literature of the subject.

The second volume is devoted to democracy in the United States. The author has gathered his material with painstaking industry and with an evidently impartial spirit; but the criticisms of American institutions and methods, particularly in author's summary and conclusion, are flavored with genuine hostility. He seems to have studied the working of American party organization mostly in our cities, and perhaps in New York, and his opinions are such as might be expected from one who had based his observations on the methods of Tammany Hall. Of course, much that he says about party tyranny suppressing the real will of the people is true enough, but he sees that as the whole thing, instead of a mere speck on the outside, against which good people everywhere are protesting. It is because the spots are made conspicuous that they are the first thing a stranger observes, and so misses the dominating characteristics of our institutions.

Mr. Ostrogorski is so disgusted with our party machinery that he becomes the advocate of the abolition of parties. He thinks the remedy for the political machine is to have recourse to popular movements created especially for a particular issue; that is to say, break up all party lines after each election and

have the citizens reorganize on new lines for the next election. This would indeed reduce government to the town meeting, if not to the mob basis. It is pre-eminently the suggestion of one who has not learned to think in the terms of democracy.

Although this work is later than Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth," its grasp of the essence of American institutions is distinctly inferior. Mr. Bryce could feel the spirit and think in the terms of democracy; Mr. Ostrogorski appears to be unable to free himself from the spirit of monarchy.

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. By James Albert Woodburn. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

This book is a companion volume of the author's work entitled, "The American Republic and its Government," which we reviewed last month. It shows more careful handling of the subject than its predecessor. This is probably due to the fact that it appeals more to advanced students of American politics.

The treatment of the subject is thorough and orderly, although the method adopted results in rather dry reading. The development of politics is taken up with the political parties of England, and an effort is made to show the relationship between the Whigs and the Tories of the old country and the parties of the same name in the colonies. The author agrees with Lord Chatham who said in a speech in Parliament in 1775 that the "glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America."

From this point the history of parties is carried on with great minuteness, and the principles of Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans, Whigs and Jacksonian Democrats, Abolitionists and the Liberty Party, the Free-Soilers, predecessors of the Republicans, and the minor parties that have appeared in recent times—Greenbackers, Grangers, Alliancemen, Populists, Middle-of-the-Roaders, and the rest are explained with the necessary historical setting. Any one who reads this volume with care will obtain a comprehensive view of American politics, provided he is not bemused by the complexity of the de-

tails. For politics is not a simple study. But such a book as this should prove of the greatest service in aiding the student or reader to master the most interesting branch of American history. It will hardly be doubted that the American genius has displayed itself with the greatest profusion and brilliance in the field of politics.

Professor Woodburn deserves praise for his clear and satisfactory treatment of the origin of the present Republican party, and also for the light he throws upon the development of Democracy under the guidance of Jackson. Another valuable feature of the book is the treatment of political parties and political questions of the present day. The book is conceived and wrought out in too philosophic a spirit to admit of the strong condemnation of bosses and the spoils system, although it is clear that the author condemns and abhors this development of American politics.

If any fault may be found with so admirable a work, we should say it lies in the chapter devoted to political independence and party loyalty. The author classifies the attitudes a voter may assume toward parties as follows:

He may abstain entirely from all political life and activity, like Garrison and the Abolitionists;

He may vote and try to influence voting, but acknowledge no party allegiance—this is the pure independent, and Professor Woodburn thinks there are few of them;

He may be a blind or unscrupulous adherent of a party—and in this class the author places eighty-five or ninety out of every hundred voters;

Or, he may identify himself with a party, attend primaries and caucuses and conventions, but still hold his political principles above party success and "follow his convictions and his sense of the public welfare against the decisions of the party organization."

The man who occupies the position described in Professor Woodburn's last classification would be considered, and justly so, a traitor to his party organization. If one enters a caucus or a convention, and takes part therein, common honesty demands that he finally yield his own judgment to the judgment

of the majority. To do otherwise means simple treachery. To preserve his independence, he must, as an honorable man, stay outside the doors of political conventions and caucuses. He can not honorably take part in these deliberations and afterward revolt against their decision. It seems astonishing that this principle is not clear to the author of this unusually fine and satisfactory study of American politics.

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DISCOURSES ON WAR. By William Ellery Channing, with an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Ginn & Company, Boston.

The publication of these eloquent discourses of the great New England preacher is made to coincide with the centennial anniversary of the birth of Channing, and the dedicating of a statue to him in Boston. It would have been more effective if these Philippics against unjust wars could have been published and scattered broadcast over this country immediately preceding the riotous outburst of imperialistic sentiment in the United States. If the famous discourse, entitled "The Citizen's Duty in War Which He Condemns," had been especially aimed at the Philippine war, it could not have been more pointed and more condemnatory of the false policy of this government.

It is very probable that Channing, had he delivered these sermons in this age of "imperialism" and world ambition, would have been denounced by the "imperialists" as a traitor to his country ; but it was impossible for a man of the clarity of vision of Channing to see anything but gross wrong and immorality in such a war of conquest and vainglory. But times have changed, and in the very state in which these magnificent addresses against unjust war were delivered the principal leader of the imperialistic sentiment in this country, Senator Lodge, has vehemently advocated the old blood-stained doctrine of the conquest of weaker peoples.

Channing declared, as if with our own course in prophetic view, that "it is no excuse for taking possession of a man that we can make him happier. We are poor judges of another's happiness. He was made to work it out for himself. Our opinion of his best interests is particularly to be distrusted

when our own interest is to be advanced by making him our tool."

The great preacher also declared it "the crime of crimes to use power against liberty; to crush and subdue and subjugate mankind; to rob men of the free use of their nature; to take them out of their own hands and compel them to bend to another's will."

This little volume should be used, as it is intended to be, throughout the schools of the country. The volume has a notable introduction by Dr. Mead, which brings out the best thought of Channing, and also the tremendous influence that he had upon his generation and his time. It is to be regretted that that influence was so short lived.

There is, however, an additional element of timeliness in this publication in view of the recent establishment of the Hague Tribunal, the purpose of which is to maintain peace throughout the world.

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CRIME IN ITS RELATIONS TO SOCIAL PROGRESS. By Arthur Cleveland Hall, Ph. D., Fellow in Sociology, Columbia. The Columbia University Press, New York. The Macmillan Company, 1902.

The reader who attacks this book without full warning will be shocked by the frank assumption that "crime" is a standard of civilization. The greater number of crimes committed in any country, other things being equal, the higher and nobler is the civilization of that country. This seems paradoxical; but the author is fully prepared to maintain this view. Of course, crime in itself does not make for civilization. It would seem, indeed, to make for something quite otherwise. But "crime," scientifically considered, is really an artificial offense against society, and may not involve what moralists used to call with so much unction "moral turpitude."

Dr. Hall defines "crime" as "any act or omission to act, punished by society as a wrong against itself." The more stringent the efforts of society to safeguard itself, the greater number, therefore, of crimes within its boundary. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, in his "Ancient Law," takes the same view of

"crime," and distinguishes it from the idea of a wrong or tort, and also from that of sin, as involving the idea of "injury to the state or collective community."

The purpose of the book is the investigation of the relations of crime to social progress, and chiefly of two phases of this subject: "The evolutionary function and usefulness of 'crime' and punishment; and 'crime' as a social product increasing with the increase of social prohibitions."

Every society has the choice of its peculiar crimes. Those societies that choose badly are doomed to failure and decay; and those that choose their crimes wisely attain success, and develop along lines of culture, security and civilization. The author has worked out this idea not always with clearness, but to clear results. He contends that in the highest civilizations crime is most frequent, and that only in the less developed societies and communities is crime on the decrease. For instance, the states in this country in which "crimes" are most frequent are those that are indisputably the most advanced. Massachusetts occupies the bad eminence at the head of the list, with New York second, and New Mexico last. England and France lead the world in criminality as they do in civilization. France, undoubtedly the most exquisitely and most highly civilized country that the world has yet seen, is still adding to its list of crimes and its procession of criminals. England has ceased to multiply her criminal offenses. This indicates that England has reached its limit of civilization, while France, already ahead of her, has still other sunlit summits to climb.

All this has, as the author confesses, a somewhat pessimistic sound. But the case is not beyond hope. Crimes have been created for the protection of society, and their increasing frequency is not only consistent with a rapid advance in civilization, but is, in fact, an inseparable result thereof. Crime, therefore, increased rapidly throughout the nineteenth century, the greatest of all eras in history.

As to the ultimate cessation of crime, the author thinks that a period will be reached when the category of delinquency will be exhausted, and society cultured and secure, will cease to multiply crimes against itself. When this point is reached,

punishment will gradually stamp out crime, and civilization will be gradually freed from its stain.

In summing up his work, Dr. Hall says that the typical crimes of the most successful nations of to-day are largely misdemeanors caused by fine legal adjustments made necessary by a more complex social life. He thinks that the rate of increase will be less in the twentieth century than in the nineteenth, and that the age of maximum crime will soon pass, and society will have a decreasing rather than an increasing total of delinquency.

The book is thorough in its assembling of statistics and opinions, and is a useful repository of facts connected with the growth of crime among savage and civilized peoples. It is therefore a most valuable addition to the literature of this subject.

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ANNUAL COAL REPORT AND REPORT OF FREE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN ILLINOIS. State Printer, Springfield, Ill., 1902.

Illinois is second to Pennsylvania among the states of this country in its output of coal. This report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics dwells upon the fact that the coal production of the United States now exceeds that of England, as the best indication that Great Britain has been "distanced in the industrial race by this country."

The first annual report of the coal industry in Illinois was made in 1884. At that time there were 741 mines employing 25,595 miners, and the output was a little more than 12,000,000 tons. The present report, which is for the year 1901, gives the number of mines as 915, the employes as 44,143, the aggregate product as 26,635,319 tons. This is an increase in output of nearly a million and a half tons, as compared with the previous year.

It is interesting to note that fifty-three counties in the state produce coal, and that during the year 1901, 138 new mines were opened, and 143 were abandoned.

The report asserts that the prospect is very favorable for the export of American coal. It is said that the facilities for production and transportation are now so perfect as to make it

possible to place American-mined coal in the markets of the old world at less than the cost of production there.

The report of the Free Employment Offices is of great interest at this time, when so many efforts are making to solve the problem of the unemployed. This is the third annual report of this bureau, and it shows a tremendous development of the system adopted by the state. The compiler says, "that no system has yet been devised which is so well calculated to bring together the men and women in search of employment and those who need and will employ their services." The results of the system seem thoroughly to bear out this claim. During 1901, 28,124 applications were filed for help of all kinds, and the number of applicants for positions amounted to 27,605; showing an excess of 519 applicants for help over the applicants for position. Work was obtained for 23,996 persons, leaving 4,128 applications for help unfilled. The comment is that many more of the unemployed could have been furnished with situations if they had availed themselves of the services of the office.

This latter report is furnished in separate form, as well as being bound in with the coal report.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST.

*Pure Sociology.* By Tester F. Ward. Cloth; 575 pages; \$4.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*Buddhist India.* By T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., Ph.D. Price \$1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

*Municipal Public Works.* By S. Whinery. Price \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

*Heredity and Social Progress.* By Simon N. Patten. 214 pages; \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*A Prince of Sinners.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated by Oscar Wilson. Price \$1.50. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

*Railway Legislation in the United States.* By Balthasar Henry Meyer, Ph.D. Price \$1.25 net. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

## CURRENT COMMENT

### President's Tour and Speeches

There seems to be pretty good ground for the assumption that Mr. Roosevelt had in contemplation another "Winning of the West" when he traveled toward the Pacific Coast and stopped at various points along his route to "talk politics" with his fellow citizens. When he discussed the tariff, expansion, trusts, international questions, and local topics, he appeared as the most distinguished advocate of a great political party which will be called upon next year to defend its title to another lease of power. Mr. Roosevelt is convinced that the claims of his party merit favorable consideration by the people of the West. Evidence is not lacking that he regards himself as the strongest and most available standard-bearer his party can put forward in the contest of 1904 for a national political supremacy. It is but just to him to say that a majority of the most influential politicians of the President's faith are in full accord with him on the question of his availability. It also seems to be true that the mass of Republican voters concur with their leaders in this view. Hence "The Winning of the West" by Mr. Roosevelt in the year preceding the Presidential election appears to be an accomplished fact, judging by the confidence displayed by personal friends of the President who accompanied him on his tour and sounded the sentiment of the Republican masses.—*Baltimore Sun.*

In all history I do not believe that there is to be found an orator whose speeches will last as enduringly as certain of the speeches of Lincoln. And in all history, with the sole exception of the man who founded the republic, I do not think there will be found another statesman at once so great and so single-hearted in his devotion to the welfare of his people. We cannot too highly honor him. And the highest way in which we can honor him is to see that our homage is not only homage of words; that to loyalty of words we join loyalty of the heart, and that we pay honor to the memory of Abraham Lincoln by so conducting ourselves, by so carrying ourselves as citizens of this republic that we shall hand down undiminished to our children and our children's children the heritage we received from the men who upheld the statesmanship of Lincoln in the council, and who made good the soldiership of Grant in the field.—*From Speech at Freeport, Ill., in Dedicating Monument on Site of Lincoln-Douglas Debate.*

Upon the success of the experiment of free government, conducted in a spirit of orderly liberty, here on this continent, depends not only the welfare of this nation, but depends the future of free government in the entire world. It behooves us not to exult in our privileges, but soberly to realize our responsibilities. Hitherto republics have failed. Sometimes control of the government slipped into the hands of an oligarchy; sometimes it slipped into the hands of a mob. In either case the result was the same. Either form of perversion of the governmental principle spelled death and ruin to the country. This government will succeed because it must and shall be kept true to the principles for which the men of Lincoln's generation fought.—*From Speech Dedicating State Arsenal at Springfield, Ill.*

**Roosevelt Indorsed** I am in receipt of a telegram from President for the Roosevelt which indicates to me his desire **Presidency** to have the indorsement of the Ohio Republican state convention of his administration and candidacy. In view of this I shall not oppose such action by the convention. I have telegraphed the President to that effect.—*Senator Mark Hanna.*

There is no lightning-change artist like your political boss. Senator Hanna whipped about yesterday with such startling suddenness that even his most trusted lieutenants were caught napping. Poor old Grosvenor was still mumbling that he was for Roosevelt, of course, but that it was bad politics to urge his renomination at this time, since it would only lead to a "factional quarrel" in the convention. But the astute Hanna perceived the rumblings of the coming cyclone and fled incontinently to the cellar. He who on Monday was going to take the floor and fight the resolution calling for President Roosevelt's renomination, on Tuesday was meekly saying, "I shall not oppose indorsement, and I have telegraphed the President to that effect." By the time the convention meets, Senator Hanna will be posing as the original advocate of Roosevelt's renomination—just as he was of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency in 1900, after finding that he could not possibly beat him. It is the true boss strategy.

As for the President himself he has again acted successfully upon his favorite motto, "*toujours de l'audace.*" He smashes political precedents as if they were so many eggshells.—*New York Evening Post.*

The platform adopted at Columbus yesterday states that:

"We commend President Roosevelt's fidelity to duty, his adherence to President McKinley's policies and his own practicability in office, showing him in every way worthy of election by the people to be their chief magistrate. We favor his nomination for President in 1904."

In his speech to the convention Mr. Hanna declared that Mr. Roosevelt is a "young heroic President," that he has made a success in the Presidential office by carefully keeping his promise to adhere faithfully to the policies of President McKinley, and by being a good party man.

It is as the political executor and representative of the man he succeeded that the Ohio Republicans find all their reasons for admiring and indorsing Mr. Roosevelt and pledging themselves to his renomination next year.

A few days ago Mr. Roosevelt took pains to inform the country that what he most desired was to be a whole President, rather than half a President. He preferred, he said, to be a whole President for a part of a term than half a president for two terms. The Ohio Republicans say that his policies are those of his predecessor, and that he is practicable in office, which seems to be about the same as saying that he is far from being "a whole President."—*Hartford Times*.

**The Postal Service Scandal** Charges made by Mr. Seymour W. Tulloch (for twenty years cashier of the Washington Post Office), which have been the subject of letters from ex-Postmaster-General Smith and ex-First-Assistant Heath, are now confirmed by a report of the Civil Service Commission, which was requested by Postmaster-General Payne to make a statement concerning them. The Commission shows that positions were given to many persons in the classified service in the Washington office without examination, the rules having been evaded by the appointment of these persons in small offices elsewhere, from which they were transferred. Mr. Tulloch had said that the tendency of the practices which he denounced was to "convert the local office into a mere bureau of the Department." The same words are used by the Commission, which says of the appointments and transfers that they seem to warrant the following statement:

"They show a wide departure in policy from a strict regard for the public interest, and afford indications that the Department used the Washington Post Office for political and personal purposes to an extent which left the authority of the postmaster in transfers and appointments of this sort but little more than nominal, and placed the office in many respects in

the relation of the bureau to the Department. The investigation seems to show clearly that most of the irregularities were directed by the Department, or requested or suggested by high departmental officials, and in either case came to the postmaster with all the force of a direction. It appears that Postmaster Merritt did not initiate any of these improper appointments or assignments [except in twelve instances which are specified], and his responsibility for them appears to be secondary and dependent upon the extent to which a subordinate is justified in protesting against the orders or suggestions of his official superiors."

The record indicates, says the Commission, that "the service was packed with employees in the interests of individuals." —*The Independent.*

Public spoilers have been busy in the department under the administrations of Postmaster-General Smith and Postmaster-General Payne.

The havoc and the scandal they have wrought have now been disclosed. The question is, What measures shall be taken for the punishment of the rascals and for the protection of the Department? There has been some foolish talk at Washington about untimely and indiscreet disclosures, and some much more foolish talk about letting the rascals of Mr. Smith's administration go, while attention is concentrated upon the evil work that is still going on under Mr. Payne. We cannot believe that either the President or the Postmaster-General are the victims of delusion in this matter. They must see that the corruption in the Department is not chronologically divisible into two parts. It is a wrong upon the people, a fraud upon the treasury, which must be treated as a whole. Little would be gained if Mr. Payne should strike off the topmost branches of frauds rooted in his predecessor's administration. The investigation must cover the whole field, and only when it has been thoroughly made and concluded will the Department be free from danger of a fresh outbreak.—*New York Times.*

The Postmaster-General is the ideal politician. To him the chief object of the government is to provide occasion for the existence of the Republican party, and the end of all politics is not good government, but party success. When he was proposed as a member of the McKinley cabinet, the leading Republican newspaper of his state (the Milwaukee *Sentinel*) protested on the ground that he was, in politics, wholly unscrupulous. That the civil service reformer now at the head

of the government should have appointed him to the office of Postmaster-General has been explained as due to the President's eagerness for the nomination next year and his real or fancied need of such practical party workers as Payne and Clarkson. No one, however, has ever questioned the honesty of Mr. Payne in his business affairs, and there is no doubt that an actual instance of money corruption in his department must lead him to a relentless investigation and prosecution of the guilty. Only this development could prevent him from attempting to make light of the scandal of collusion between officials and contractors, the appointment of unfit persons to places because of their party work, the carrying of the relatives of politicians on the pay rolls without exacting service from them, and the like. The scandal has now reached a stage where it must hurt the party more to attempt to blind the people than to make a full revelation and prosecute all who are concerned in it.—*Philadelphia Record.*

It is manifestly in evidence that Postmaster-General Payne is not the right man in the right place. Friends of this member of the cabinet assert that he is an honest man, desirous of doing the right thing, but in poor health and so handicapped for the sharp handling of the important work that he has in hand. To say so much is to confess judgment. Mr. Payne's explanations, and repeated but wholly insufficient dismissals or charges that have led to revelations important and unsavory, are no longer convincing, if they ever were. Things do not stay where he essays to put them, and have not done so from the start. Mr. Tulloch's charges will not down. They were the lead which has proved "rich." Those who impartially consider the developments and the fulminations of Mr. Payne long ago saw that they do not jibe.

Nothing short of a full, clear and resolute demonstration that the bottom of the irregularities and corruption has been sought and reached, will now satisfy the country. There is disappointment in Mr. Payne. He should be stiffened up and reinforced by the President, or put out of the way for a more resolute investigator, one who can command the confidence of the country.—*Springfield Republican.*

**Perils of  
Trade  
Unionism** Labor has caught the fever of trade unionism, and, without knowing what it means, or realizing how it may be of real service to the world, has turned its power and energy in the direction of building up organizations. Unless this force is turned to substantial meth-

ods of bettering industrial conditions, rather than to gaining temporary or personal advantages, then all this great movement must be for naught.

When all is said and done, the power of public opinion is the one controlling power in the world. A sufficient public opinion will preserve trade unionism. A strong enough hostile public opinion will destroy it. Trade unionism has fought its long battle and won its well-earned victories because it stood for something more than individual selfishness; because it really meant the upbuilding of the race. If it should lose its moral force and descend to pure selfishness it is bound to fall to pieces."—*Clarence S. Darrow, in Speech to the Henry George Association of Chicago.*

Mr. Darrow's address is the earnest remonstrance of a thoughtful man against the follies into which workingmen have drifted and which menace them and the social structure with disaster. It needs courage for a friend of the laborer to rebuke his selfishness, ignorance and recklessness, and only a true and wise friend, an unselfish friend, could dare so much and speak so plainly. A crisis in the life of organized labor in the United States is impending. It is foreshadowed in aimless strikes, in irrational unrest, in the seething turbulence of masses of men who can give no lucid reason for their turmoil, in the defensive drawing together of harassed employers in the growing hostility of public opinion to purposeless disturbers of business. The need for sane counsel, sharp rebuke and earnest remonstrance against foolish action is great and the man who supplies that need takes his courage in both hands if he values the friendship of those whom he would save from their own folly. Clarence Darrow has dared greatly. Will organized labor understand him and heed him? Will its leaders stand by him and tell their followers that "faithful are the wounds of a friend"?—*Philadelphia North American.*

No one expects altruism in business affairs, nor is it to be supposed that Mr. Darrow had in mind any notion of a Utopia in which employer and employee shall devote their energies to any one's welfare except their own. What he meant and what is obvious to all observers of present tendencies is that in the greed which has caused the strife which he deprecates there is danger of self-destruction rather than promise of self-betterment. As greedy combinations of capital are foredoomed to failure, so greedy labor unions are bent on ruin of their own interests. Already on both sides there are signs that this element of weakness is making itself

felt. If the warning is not soon heeded while the machinery of business is still going the lesson will be learned in bitter suffering when it is too late to avoid serious and lasting consequences.—*New York Commercial Advertiser*.

Mr. Darrow rendered a very great service to organized labor in his conduct of the case of the anthracite strikers, and is rendering it a scarcely less important service in warning it against radical and destructive action, and the disregard of the public welfare. Mr. Henry White, one of the most eminent labor leaders, has uttered a similar warning to his followers. Some of the labor leaders have done their cause great harm by inciting general attack on the trade of a whole community, and the members of the organizations will do well to reflect on Mr. Darrow's statement that in the long run public opinion controls, and movements hostile to the interests of the community as a whole can not succeed, whatever may be the forces back of them.—*Philadelphia Record*.

**Child Labor in North and South** The widespread agitation against child labor in the South has reopened the discussion of this very important problem throughout the whole country. It has been found that the work of the children in the textile mills in the South is reduplicated not only in other industries in the South, but in the Middle States, and in more than one northern state, notwithstanding many years of child-labor legislation. The tobacco factories of Virginia and Kentucky, for example, are known to employ children under almost as injurious conditions as obtain in the cotton states; the slaughter houses, tobacco shops, and bakeries in Chicago are employing children below the age of fourteen years under equally sordid conditions, and by night as well as by day; the enormous glass industry of New Jersey is employing children below the legal age under the most injurious conditions; the mines of Pennsylvania are using thousands of boys on the breakers, a large part of whom are known to be below the legal age; and the office boys, messenger boys, delivery boys, newsboys and bootblacks of New York, as well as those of other large cities, are totally without legal protection.

Child labor in the North does not take place, as a rule, at such an early age as it does in the South; but its very much greater extent in this section makes it an even more important public issue. Besides the thirteen thousand children under sixteen employed in the factories of New York, there are thousands in the stores, thousands on the street, and other thousands scattered throughout the offices of the city. The

street boys are as young as any of those employed in the Southern mills, and work in an environment equally or more injurious to their habits and character.—*The Ethical Record*.

**Murder of the Servian King and Queen** Army officers to the number of ninety having formed a project of a revolt, among them being delegates from almost every garrison in Servia and the majority of the officers of the Sixth Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Mischics invited his comrades to meet on Wednesday evening at 11 o'clock in the Helimagdan Garden, and there the immediate carrying out of the intended deed was organized.

At 1.40 A. M., the officers, in eight groups, went to the Konak, the royal palace. Each had a cue and special directions regarding his part in the revolution. In the palace itself the revolutionaries had two important partisans in the King's bodyguard—Col. Alexander Maschin (Queen Draga's cousin), and the King's personal adjutant, Lieutenant Naumovics.

The revolutionaries forced their way into the palace, shooting all who attempted to bar their passage. Suddenly the electric lights went out. All stood in darkness. In the greatest excitement and feeling their way, the revolutionaries climbed the stairs and got into the dark anteroom to the King's apartment. Here they found candles and lit them. This seemingly slight circumstance was decisive to the whole action. Without light they could not have found the victims, who fled in their nightclothes from their sleeping apartment through corridors and numerous rooms. After a long search a small door leading into an alcove was discovered, but was found locked. It was broken in with an axe, and here the royal couple were found. The older officers first intended to force the King to abdicate, but the young officers were in no mood to be held back, and shot at the King and Queen. Nobody knows in the excitement who shot first, but it is generally said it was Lieutenant Kistics. The King received thirty shot wounds, many of them deadly. Queen Draga had numerous shot and sabre wounds. The doors and floors of the royal apartments were shattered, and the ruins drenched with blood.

All the servants of the royal couple fled when the first shots were heard, with the exception of Queen Draga's servant. At twelve minutes past two o'clock all was over. Colonel Maschin appeared at the gate of the Konak, around which great crowds had collected, and made a speech, saying:

"We have now destroyed the dynasty of the Obrenovitches

and have got rid of the dishonorable woman who was the King's evil spirit. Long live Servia!"

The people responded: "Long live the army!"—*Press Despatches.*

My opinion of the execution of the King and Queen of Servia is this: I deeply regret that it has been thought necessary to shed streams of blood. I formally disapprove of the violent measures, and I especially deplore the fact that the army has had recourse to such measures—an army which has nobler tasks to accomplish than assassination. It would have sufficed to force King Alexander to sign his abdication. He could have been bound as has been done in other circumstances. It is a horrible thing to shed blood.

You ask what will be my attitude when I am in possession of the crown—we will assume that I am called to the throne. I shall not fail to take inspiration from the admirable institutions of Switzerland, which I have learned to appreciate highly. I am in favor of the absolute liberty of the press. I hope to see Servia prosper under the Constitution of 1889, which is very liberal.

Regarding foreign relations, it has been alleged that I am systematically hostile to Austria. That is false. Maybe I am in special sympathy with Russia, to which country I sent my boy in the hope that he would take service there.—*The new Servian King, Peter Karageorgevitch, in an interview.*

Whether Prince Peter, now elected King by the Skuptshina, will be an improvement on his predecessor, remains to be seen. In the eyes of Russia he will be; he has long been a vigorous Russophile; his marriage with Princess Zorka of Montenegro was arranged by the Czar, and their two sons have been trained at the Russian military academy. In the eyes of the rest of the world, however, respite the Prince's professed shock at the horrible deed just perpetrated, he will, if elected, occupy a blood-stained throne, gained through regicide, even though he be personally innocent. His first duty should be to insist on the condign punishment of Alexander's murderers. If King Peter does not do this spontaneously, the sovereigns of Europe ought to compel him to do so, if only as a means of self-preservation and the protection of legitimism in government. It is to be hoped that this reported statement from the Prince will be confirmed: "The nation must avenge the crime. It is imperative under a civilized constitution. A King who could overlook it or receive a crown at the hands of assassins would be their accomplice."—*The Outlook.*

**Chamberlain's Tariff Programme** Orthodoxy, which has been happily defined as "my doxy," and in practise is merely the "doxy" fashionable at the moment, is always ready to crush a pioneer of evolution by first presenting a wild travesty of his opinions and then heaping upon it a mass of inferences which he would be the first to repudiate. Mr. Chamberlain has not escaped the operation of this easy and fascinating method. Because he has ventured to doubt whether the rigid application of free trade theory to the affairs of the country constitutes in itself a complete national policy, he has been denounced, in spite of his own emphatic declaration to the contrary, as an uncompromising enemy of free trade. Because he has expressed a desire to give to the colonies, as far as may be, the fiscal advantages of their inclusion in the British Empire, he has been credited with the visionary idea of forcing some cast-iron scheme of preferential tariffs upon all our colonies at once. Because he does not see why we should lie down and be kicked by every protectionist nation, he has been charged with plotting universal aggression upon the commercial world, and worthy people like Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman have talked shudderingly about reprisals, just as if no nation had yet dreamed of setting up a 33 or 50 per cent. duty to keep out British manufactures. Mr. Chamberlain cannot take too early an opportunity to deal with these misrepresentations. They will continue to be made by political opponents, and perhaps to be believed by people whose ready-made ideas do not leave room for mental growth. But a clear exposition of his real position on the part of Mr. Chamberlain will command a respectful hearing and careful consideration by the mass of his countrymen.—*London Times.*

The financial and fiscal bearings of Mr. Chamberlain's grandiose but vague schemes will be much discussed. We can only allude to them now. In general, the argument against them is, first, that they are inconsistent with each other. He proposes, seemingly, to protect English manufacturers, yet would do it by making their cost of production higher by means of taxes on raw materials and on food. In the second place, statistics show that England's stake in the trade with foreign nations is about three times what it is in colonial trade. In 1902 she imported from foreign countries goods to the value of \$2,105,000,000; from the colonies, only \$530,000,000. The exports were, respectively, \$870,000,000 and \$545,000,000. What shall it profit England to increase her colonial trade if she hazards the other? Mr. Chamberlain is a very adroit

man and a most skilful politician; but we do not believe that he can persuade hard-headed Englishmen to embark on these uncharted seas. They will listen to him, they will admire his restless energy and his fertile resource, but they will be apt to say, in the end, "Let us stick to our well-tried policy of free markets."—*New York Evening Post*.

Nothing is clearer than that the Chamberlain proposal of a British imperial zollverein raises in all its fullness the old issue of protection and free trade as it was pounded out to a free trade conclusion sixty years ago. More than this; it will present that issue in a far more aggravated form, involving consequences to the British trade and the life of the British people vastly more injurious than could have resulted from a continuation of the corn-law or protective policy, or from a revival of the corn laws within twenty or thirty years of their repeal.

That is true because the United Kingdom is to-day more than ever before dependent upon outside countries for its food and raw material supplies. Its whole industrial system is now more than ever dependent upon untaxed food and raw material. The adjustment to free trade conditions involves interests of vastly greater magnitude than could possibly have been concerned in the repeal of the corn laws, and the corn law policy cannot possibly be re-enacted without shaking the very foundations of British industry and trade, and inflicting such damage to established interests as could not have been inflicted by a similar change at any previous time.—*Springfield Republican*.

All Mr. Chamberlain's special pleading will not suffice to satisfy Englishmen that preferential trade arrangements are *free*. His plan for buying the labor vote to favor higher bread-stuffs by agreeing beforehand to pay the result over to the laborers in old-age pensions indicates less respect for the laborer than the laborer is entitled to. Years ago Carlyle said that the workingman demands not justice but charity. That is to-day much more true, as an interpretation of workingmen, than it was when Carlyle said it. The proposition to tax the workingman for his food products and pay him back the taxes in old-age pensions is a proposition to give him charity and deny him justice, to coddle him in his old age in return for impoverishing him in his manhood. It is more direct and therefore more easily seen through than the American plan to tax all the people on their purchases and pay the proceeds back to some of the people in their wages. America will have no reason to complain if she should find her food products excluded from

the English market in exchange for her exclusion of English manufactures from the American market. But neither the English nor the American people can be fooled into the belief that such a policy will not both raise the price of food in England and create a new and serious hindrance to the cordial though unofficial alliance that is growing up between England and America.—*The Outlook*.

What, then, would be the net outcome of a reversion to a protective tariff? We repeat that, if Mr. Chamberlain's most sanguine hopes could be realized, the colonies would monopolize the British market for food products, and Great Britain in return would monopolize the colonial markets for imported manufactures. Would a monopoly of the colonial markets compensate British manufacturers for the loss of markets in those countries which hitherto have paid for imports of British manufactures with exports of food products? This is the question which is certain to be driven home to British employers and British operatives at the next general election. The answer will be at once forthcoming, for the statistics are conclusive. Of England's total ocean-borne trade (\$4,740,000,000), almost three-quarters, or \$3,559,000,000, is with foreign countries. All its colonies combined furnish only \$1,181,000,000.—*Harper's Weekly*.

**Panama Canal** The reasons why the commission recommended  
and and the congress adopted the Panamá route,  
**the Treaty** instead of the Nicaragua-Costa Rica location,  
were that the Panamá canal would be cheaper, shorter,  
straighter and lower. The estimated construction costs for the  
Nicaragua canal are \$189,864,000. With this figure is to be  
compared an estimated cost of \$184,233,000 for the Panamá  
route. This estimate for Panamá includes a payment of \$40,-  
000,000 to the New Panamá Canal Company for its concession  
and property. The difference in construction cost between  
the two routes (\$5,631,000) is not large, but this difference is  
a very inadequate measure of the relative expenses involved in  
the execution and maintenance of the two projects. It would  
cost \$1,350,000 more annually to maintain and operate the  
Nicaragua canal than the one at Panamá, and this difference  
in the cost of operation and maintenance should be capitalized  
at nearly \$50,000,000.

The length of the Panamá route is 49.09 miles, from 36  
feet of water in the Caribbean to an equal depth in the Pacific.  
From the inner end of the harbor enlargement at Colón to

the bay at La Boca, near the city of Panamá, the distance is 43.03 miles, and of this distance 11 miles will be taken up by the artificial Lake Bohio. This reduces the length of the restricted channels of the Panamá canal from shore to shore to 32.3 miles. If the channels at the entrances of the two harbors sections, is 36.41 miles. The Nicaragua canal would be 183.66 miles in length.

All things considered, the provisions of this treaty are satisfactory. The United States does not secure the sovereignty over any part of Colombia, but it is not necessary that we should obtain political sovereignty. Our country secures a lease which, while not in perpetuity, is one that gives us the power of indefinite renewal. We have the power to maintain order in the neighborhood of the canal, and to take such measures as may be necessary to defend the waterway.

The concession held by the Panamá Canal Company stipulates that the canal shall revert to the Colombian government at the end of 99 years from the date of the completion of the canal. By the treaty now negotiated, Colombia loses the right of future ownership of the railroad and canal properties.—*Emory R. Johnson, in The Independent.*

#### Current Price Comparisons

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	June 21, 1902	May 21, 1903	June 22, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (dbl. 196 lbs.)...	\$3.95	\$4.10	\$4.40
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel).....	80 $\frac{5}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	85
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	69	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	46 $\frac{1}{4}$	38	43 $\frac{1}{4}$
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	10.00	18.00	18.25
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	22.50	19.00	19.00
Coffee, Rio No 7 (lb.).....	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{6}{8}$	5 $\frac{6}{8}$
Sugar, Granulat. I, Standard (lb.)...	4 $\frac{66}{100}$	4 $\frac{85}{100}$	4 $\frac{85}{100}$
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	22	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cheese, State, f. c., small fancy (lb.)	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{5}{8}$
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{15}{100}$	12 $\frac{4}{10}$
Print Cloths (yard).....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.).....	—	5 $\frac{65}{100}$	5 $\frac{65}{100}$
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)...	7 $\frac{85}{100}$	8 $\frac{66}{100}$	8 $\frac{66}{100}$
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	12 $\frac{2}{3}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	12
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iron, No. 1 North foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	21.00	21.00	19.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	20.50	20.75	19.00
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) .....	28.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	29.65	28.75
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.) .....	12.00	15.00	14.75
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) .....	4.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.37 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.10

	June 21, 1902.	May 21, 1903.	June 22, 1903.
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20).....	4.35	4.15	4.15
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.).....	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)....	2.05	2.00	2.00
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)....	—	5.10	5.25
Fine silver (per ounce).....	—	54 $\frac{1}{4}$	53
Bullion value silver dollar.....	—	.5080	.4098
Ratio gold to silver .....	—	1.31 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.49 $\frac{1}{2}$

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 June	1899 June	1900 June	1901 June	1902 June	1903 June
Wheat, No. 2 red N.Y. (bush.)	1.21	1.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.96 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.93 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	.35 $\frac{1}{2}$	.43 $\frac{1}{2}$	.44 $\frac{1}{2}$	.71 $\frac{1}{2}$	.48 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.38 $\frac{1}{2}$	.42 $\frac{1}{2}$	.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	.71 $\frac{1}{2}$	.57 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	.28 $\frac{1}{2}$	.48 $\frac{1}{2}$	.30 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.49	.62	.60 $\frac{1}{2}$	.53	.58	.51
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	9.50	11.50	11.50	13.00	14.00	15.00
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	3.25	3.50	1.50	2.62	3.12	2.62
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.13	.16	.14	.18	.24	.24
Wool, xx, washed, N. Y. (lb.)	.30	.29	.35	.26	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.31
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.28	.27	.32 $\frac{1}{2}$	.25	.25	.29
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.50	4.00	5.42 $\frac{1}{2}$	6.30	7.95	6.10
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y. (lbs.)	.17	.18 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Elgin	.16	.18	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	.19	.22	.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	.15	.14 $\frac{1}{2}$	.20	.18
" " St. Louis (doz.)	.09	.11	.10	.10	.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	.15
Cheese, Sept. col'd. N. Y.	.07 $\frac{1}{2}$	.08 $\frac{1}{2}$	.10	.09 $\frac{1}{2}$	.09 $\frac{1}{2}$	.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.08 $\frac{1}{2}$	.09 $\frac{1}{2}$	.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Jan. 1 1893.	June 1 1898.	June 1 1899.	June 1 1900.	June 1 1901.	June 1 1902.	June 1 1903.
Breadstuffs ...	\$15.750	\$15.388	\$13.610	\$13.289	\$15.635	\$19.241	\$17.034
Meats .....	9.315	7.786	7.726	8.687	9.224	11.269	9.216
Dairy, garden .	15.290	11.946	11.703	11.409	13.181	13.657	13.248
Other foods ...	9.595	8.554	9.183	9.324	9.116	8.744	9.216
Clothing .....	13.900	14.783	15.051	16.746	14.882	15.539	16.793
Metals .....	15.985	11.857	15.608	15.799	15.249	15.903	16.542
Miscellaneous..	14.320	12.614	12.974	16.575	16.532	16.815	16.887
Total .....	\$94.155	82.928	857.85	91.820	93.799	101.168	98.936

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in Dun's Review:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	May 15, 1903.	June 19 1903.
Average, 60 railway .....	102.99	103.03	99.47	94.56
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	63.27	57.11
" 5 city traction, etc. .	137.37	130.45	128.68	122.40

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing May 15 1903	Prices June 19 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113	124 $\frac{3}{4}$	119 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	121 $\frac{1}{2}$	119 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	142	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	113	112 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
International Paper (pref.).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	—	—
N. Y. Central R. R. ....	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	147	127 $\frac{3}{4}$	126 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania R. R. ....	170	147	128 $\frac{1}{2}$	126
Ph. & Reading R. R. (1st pf.)....	90 $\frac{1}{4}$	79 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	—
Southern Pacific Ry. ....	81	56	53 $\frac{3}{4}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Rubber .....	—	—	16	—
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	33 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$
" " (pref.) .....	97 $\frac{3}{4}$	79	83 $\frac{3}{8}$	80
Western Union Tel. ....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{4}$	84 $\frac{1}{4}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	June 6,			May 8,			June 12,		
	1902			1903			1903		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)....	5	10	0	5	17	6	5	10	0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	14	4	2	15	0	2	22	0
Copper .....	54	7	6	62	4	6	62	5	0
Tin, Straits .....	135	5	0	137	0	0	137	0	0
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14 x 20) .....	—	—	—	0	12	9	0	12	0
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.) .....	—	—	—	0	16	0	0	15	10
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs)	11	10	0	12	5	0	11	10	9
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{6}$	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{6}$
Petroleum (gallon) .....	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	0	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{8}$

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.866; shilling—4.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)



What Social Democracy means and what Christian Democracy ought to mean does not surely admit of doubt. The former, more or less extreme, as the case may be, is by many carried to such extravagance of wickedness as to reckon human satisfaction supreme and acknowledge no'ning higher, to pursue bodily goods and those of the natural world, and to make the happiness of man consist in attaining and enjoying them. Hence they would have the supreme power in a State to be in the hands of the common people, in such sort that all distinctions of rank being abolished and every citizen made equal to every other, all might have equal access also to the good things of life; the law of lordship is to be abolished, private fortunes confiscated, and even socialization of the appliances of labor carried out.

Accordingly, to Christian democracy, let there be nothing more sacred than law and right; let it bid the right of having and holding be kept inviolate; let it maintain the diversity of ranks which properly belongs to a well ordered State.—*Pope Leo XIII.*

From "*Encyclical on Socialism.*"

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## SUFFRAGE AND REPRESENTATION

The race question in the Southern states is crystallizing around the suffrage question. The question of social equality between the races has been clearly determined by social custom. The white people have drawn the line very sharply, so that the negro never fails to understand it. But the race question has been aggravated by the fact that it has not been left to the normal influence of social evolution, but has been made the subject of arbitrary and sweeping legislation.

At the close of the civil war, three amendments to the constitution were adopted—the 13th, 14th, and 15th. The first of these abolished slavery, the second made the slaves citizens, and the third gave them the franchise by declaring that “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” These amendments to the constitution transformed the negroes from slaves to full enfranchised citizens. It was the most extraordinary political promotion ever created by legislation. Never before was a great body of slaves transferred from slavery to full voting citizenship by a single sweep of the pen.

What might have been expected happened. The people who had been the slave owners were shocked, disgusted, and outraged at the idea that their slaves should thus be converted into their equals, and, in some states where the slaves had been very numerous, into their political masters. Under slavery, while there was no equality of rights between the two races, either political, social, or industrial, there was no spirit of persecution. Of course the whites used and sometimes abused their slaves as people do their horses; but on the whole, the

whites took a friendly, personal interest in the negroes, and many of the latter were devoted to their masters.

This sudden change in the political status of the negroes, by which they became the equals of their masters, created an antagonism between the races. The whites, for the most part, lost interest in the negroes, and, in their determination to defeat the purpose of the amendments of the constitution, they assumed an antagonistic attitude. They were less friendly to them industrially and personally. The negroes (especially the political negroes) assumed an offensive attitude toward the whites, as is always the case when a race or class is given premature power. As a consequence, during the period of reconstruction and since, congress and the whole country have periodically been stirred by the political aspects of the race problem. Congress and the federal government have been called upon by the North to protect the political rights of the negro, and the whites in the South have as persistently determined that the negroes should not exercise the suffrage; that they should not be their political equals. All this has tended to make the South solidly partisan and sectionally bitter. Political parties are not divided in the South on political ideas and public policy, but on the race question. The whites in the South are practically Democrats, whatever they may think of Democratic theories and policies, and the negroes are largely Republicans because the whites are Democrats.

A generation of experience with negro suffrage has shown that the fifteenth amendment was a mistake. The negroes were not fit for the suffrage; and for the same reason that the suffrage is not given to the Filipino and the Porto Rican, it should not have been given to the negro. This error is now becoming recognized throughout the country. The sentiment of the country is so modified on the negro suffrage problem that it is no longer a question of enforcing negro suffrage, but one of adjusting the representation in congress to the suffrage in the states. The United States constitution gives each state the right to fix the basis of suffrage for its own citizens. In amending the constitution to exclude the negroes from suffrage, these Southern states have made an educational qualifi-

cation excluding all who can not read and interpret the constitution. Several other states already have an educational qualification for voting, and they might have a property qualification if they chose. But in order to make the amendment reach the negroes, if they are illiterate, and not reach the illiterate whites, they inserted what was called a "grandfather clause," providing that the amendment should not apply to persons whose parents were entitled to vote before 1868 (the date of the passage of the 15th amendment). It is thought by many that this clause is unconstitutional because it imposes a disqualification upon citizens on account of the "race, color, and previous condition of servitude." The intention of keeping the illiterate negroes out, and letting the illiterate whites in, is so obvious that it revives the spirit of hostile criticism throughout the country, and an effort will be made to have it declared invalid by the courts.

This effort to discriminate between the ignorant blacks and the ignorant whites, neither of which are fit to vote, has raised the question of cutting down the representation of these states in congress. It is contended that if these states will not permit the negroes to vote, they should not be permitted to count the negroes in their basis of representation. There is manifestly an element of political equity in this. If the nine millions of negroes in the South are to be excluded from the suffrage, it would seem reasonable that they should not be counted in apportioning the number of representatives to congress. The basis of representation under the census of 1900, is one representative for every 194,000 inhabitants. On this basis, if the negroes were all together, they would be entitled to 45 members of congress.

Of course, their exclusion would not affect the representation to this full amount, because they are scattered through the different states in such a way that in many cases they would furnish a fraction too small to determine the representation from a single district. But in many others they might affect an existing fraction so as to cut off a representative by virtue of changing a large fraction into a smaller one. For instance, if a state had a population that barely entitled it to a given equity

of representation (say five), with only 10,000 inhabitants to spare, and there were 40,000 negroes, the elimination of the 40,000 negroes would reduce the population to 20,000 below the point for the fifth representative, and therefore would reduce the representation to five, leaving a large unrepresented fraction. So it might occur that in several states the elimination of the negroes would reduce the representation when the negroes did not number more than half the equivalent for representation. On the other hand, it might, in an equal number of cases, not affect the representation at all. If, for instance, there were a fraction of 190,000, lacking 4,000 of being enough for another representative, the elimination of 190,000 negroes would not affect the situation. But it is fair to assume that the exclusion of the negroes, who, all together, would be entitled to 45 representatives, despite their being scattered, would probably reduce the aggregate representation in the vicinity of thirty members, or reduce the Southern representation in congress by about one-fifth.

There are other motives than mere political equity that encourage this change in the representation. Such a course would reduce the Democratic representation in congress by about thirty; and this loss would, for a long time at least, insure a Republican majority in the house. This would be a strong inducement to the Republicans to push the proposition, and an equally strong one for the Democrats throughout the country, as well as in the South, to oppose it.

But the practical question arises: How can the representation be changed? The constitution provides that the representation in congress shall be according to population. Before the 15th amendment was adopted, the representation was based upon the number of free persons and three-fifths of all slaves. That is to say, in the enumeration for congressional representation, five slaves were equal to three freemen. The fact that negroes are excluded from voting does not exclude them from the enumeration for representation, because the constitution says that the representation shall be according to the population, and the 15th amendment removed all the distinction on the ground of color, race, or previous servitude.

The Southern states (those of them that have changed their constitutions for this purpose) have fixed an educational qualification. But others have done the same. If South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi are to have their representation cut down because they have applied an educational test for voting, then Massachusetts must be subject to the same rule. But congress has no power to reduce the representation for this reason, because the constitution gives the states the right to make this qualification or any other.

If the representation in congress was apportioned according to the number of voters in the states, then the exclusion of voters, for any reason whatever, would furnish legitimate ground for cutting down the representation. To be sure, the 14th amendment provides that:

When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

This clearly shows that if negroes, or any other citizens, were excluded from voting, that the representation in congress should be proportionately reduced. But while this gives congress the power to reduce the representation, it does not provide the means for so doing. If congress is to reduce the representation, it must do it in accordance with the constitution, and the constitution provides that the state may fix its own qualifications for voting, and therefore congress can not reduce the representation because citizens are disfranchised as the result of an educational or other qualification that the state has a constitutional right to impose. At any rate, if congress has the right to reduce the representation in the proportion that the number of citizens disfranchised by an educational qualification bears to the whole number of male citizens of the state, it

must do it in all states of the union, for whatever reason they may be excluded. If they are excluded in the South for educational qualifications, and excluded in other states for a property qualification, they must all be treated alike.

In New York and in the New England states there is a very large number of persons who are not even naturalized, and yet they count in the enumeration for fixing the basis of representation. It is quite clear that the Southern states are strictly within their constitutional rights in fixing the educational qualification for voting. If it excludes a larger number in some states than in others, that is merely because there is a larger amount of illiteracy; but that in no wise alters the right of the state to fix the qualification nor the principle of determining the basis of representation.

In a recent address at Port Gibson, Miss., the Hon. B. G. Humphreys, a prominent Southern representative in congress, advocated the repeal of the 15th amendment as the effective way of excluding the negroes from the franchise, and the reduction of representation in congress to the basis of the white population. This, of course, is a frank, straightforward way of meeting the question, but it is much more severe than the educational qualification, or the "grandfather clause." The repeal of the 15th amendment would permanently exclude all negroes (educated or illiterate) from the franchise throughout the country. It would class them with the Indians, and they could never be counted as the basis of representation without the adoption of a constitutional amendment. Of course, this would not prevent any state from extending the suffrage to negroes if it so desired. Under this scheme, the negroes could not acquire the right of suffrage, even if they became highly educated and acquired property, which is distinctly contrary to the spirit of democratic institutions. The only good reason for withholding the franchise from any race or class of citizens is political disqualification. Race distinction is a legitimate ground for social distinction, but does not necessarily furnish a legitimate reason for political distinction. The government of a country under democratic institutions should represent the interests and ideas of all the people. Black people who

have intelligence and property are just as much entitled to representation in the government as they would be if they were white; but if they are illiterate, shiftless, and, as a whole, poor citizens, that is a good reason why they should not participate in the government, whether they are white or black. The rights of citizenship should rest on some standard or test of political fitness. It is, therefore, very doubtful if the 15th amendment can or ought to be repealed.

But it would be eminently sound policy to have an educational qualification for the franchise in every state of the union. Ignorance should not vote, whether it is in Massachusetts or in Mississippi. It is doubtful, therefore, if the representation of the Southern states can be reduced without applying the same measure to all other states. It is doubtful that any satisfactory way of changing the representation can be found without changing the basis of representation altogether. If the representation in congress was based on the number of citizens who voted, or were entitled to vote at the last preceding presidential or congressional election, then any state that disfranchised its citizens would necessarily cut down its representation. If this were coupled with an educational qualification for voting throughout the country, then the representation in congress would be in proportion to the number of intelligent citizens of the state. That would solve the question, not only for the South, but for all sections. Any state that neglected the education of its citizens would reduce the number of its voters and cut down its representation in the national government. This is as it should be. A state that neglects the education of its citizens should not exercise so much influence in the law-making institutions of the country as the state that educates its citizens and raises the social standard of its people. Poverty and ignorance should lessen the political power of a state. If an educational test were general in all the states, and representation in congress were based on the number of qualified voters, the standard of political representation would be raised throughout the country, and the state that does the best for its people would have the greatest proportionate influence in the government.

## THE UNION VERSUS THE OPEN SHOP

There has never been a time in this country when the unions were so strong, asserted their demands with such vigor, and commanded such tremendous resources as now. Once, and not so very long ago, the struggle of the trade union was for the right to exist. Discrimination, and even the blacklist, was used against union men wherever possible. That is about all gone. In theory, the right of laborers to organize is everywhere conceded, just as in theory the right of capitalists to organize and incorporate is conceded.

As the unions grow in strength, they go a step farther and demand not only the right to organize, but official recognition. Recognition means that the union in any given trade shall be recognized as an official bargaining authority for that craft or trade. During the last few years this has been done in some industries very generally, and in our large cities, especially in the building trades, almost entirely. The immediate result of "recognition" is that the shop or industry is "unionized." To unionize a shop means that the union shall control the employment of all the workmen in that shop. This is the real bone of contention in the tremendous struggle that is now going on between capital and labor throughout the country.

The first condition of unionizing a shop is that no non-union men shall be employed. This is the essential point over which the union to-day, through each national and local organization, is making the fight. There is, in reality, very little dispute about wages. The question that is to be settled sooner or later in this matter is just this question of the extent to which the union can go consistently with the principles of business, of economics, and of ethics; because, the outcome of the struggle must ultimately be the establishment of working conditions between the two, and in order to be approximately permanent these conditions must have an equitable economic basis. The mere fact that their side can control this or that situation in a strike is of no great importance, except in teaching the lesson that it is folly to contend for uneconomic propositions in an industrial controversy.

The employers contend that they have a right to manage

their own business. While in a sense this is true, it is not in a sense that most of them see it. The laborers have something to do with the conditions of business, because they are a part of it, and the public has also something to say about the conditions of business. The public is justified in insisting that the general conditions under which business is conducted shall be wholesome, and that they shall not be oppressive to the health, or detrimental to the morals, of the laborers, that the hours of labor shall not be excessive, and that adequate protection against dangerous machinery and other conditions shall be furnished.

As to the bargaining about wages and specific conditions, the public has nothing to do. Here the laborers have rights. That must be a matter of bargaining, and in a bargain or contract both sides must have equal rights, and approximately equal power, to present their case. For the reason that capital acts in a collective, organized capacity, labor should not only have the right, but is under the necessity, of doing likewise. Individual bargains are practically impossible with laborers, but on all questions of furnishing or using tools and machinery, the employment and discharge of laborers, and other matters that directly affect the success of the enterprise must necessarily be under the control of the employers.

Now, is "unionizing" the shop consistent with the rights of the employer to conduct that part of his business which directly relates to him, and for which he alone is responsible? In theory it is. Theoretically, the union says to the employer: "You can employ and discharge whomsoever you choose; you can use such tools and machinery as you choose. All we contend for is that the laborers shall belong to unions." This does not seem to be objectionable. To be a member of a trade union should, and presumably does, guarantee that the man is a competent workman. But in fact is this the case? When a shop is unionized, does the employer have the rights that belongs to him as the investor of capital and the responsible director of the industry? It must be admitted that he does not. The fact is, that the effect of unionizing a shop in most cases is that the management, as well as the laborers, is under a system of coercion.

At the last meeting of the Economic Association in Philadelphia, Mr. Henry White, Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America, read a paper on "The Union and the Open Shop." Even Mr. White, who is also editor of the *Garment Workers' Journal*, and one of the most clear-headed and rational thinkers in the labor movement, defends the union shop to the exclusion of the non-union worker. He says:

In order to maintain their position in the shop, the union men are obliged either to exclude the non-unionist or to induce him to join with them. A partly organized shop, one that is called "free" or "open," is untenable, for either the non-union men will in time have to join the union or the union men will be obliged to withdraw. They are incongruous elements, and one or the other in time must give way. . . . Consider the case of a shop in which the workmen, in order to present a just demand, unanimously organize and succeed in their contention. Then suppose they do not insist upon the exclusion of non-union men. Disorganization follows, and the old conditions are restored. Under the stress of a common grievance they again organize and gain their object. Unless permanent organization is maintained by the majority's refusing to work with delinquent members, or objecting to the introduction of non-union men, their previous experience would be repeated indefinitely without making headway. The presence of even a single workman acting independently serves to frustrate the purpose of all. This is the heart of the question. Let those whose sensibilities are offended by the harsh methods resorted to put themselves in the workman's place and tell us what they would do."

Well, we confess to being among "those whose sensibilities are offended by the harsh methods resorted to," and we are willing to put ourselves in the "workman's place," and have no hesitancy in saying what we should do. The first thing that laborers must recognize in the situation is that power carries with it responsibility. Nobody recognizes this more fully than Mr. White. If unions are to have the power to unionize the shop and coerce non-union men into their ranks, then they must have the fairness and assume the responsibility of not abusing that power. It is an essential element in the very life of society that those who abuse power shall not have it. Those who are essentially unfit to be trusted with authority must be kept out of power; in other words, fitness

and responsibility must be the basis of power. This is the unwritten and sometimes the written law in every phase of economic, social, and political life.

Now, it may be practically admitted that for the unions to have the full benefit of organization it is necessary that the shops be substantially unionized; but this can not be, and it ought not to be, if the unions misuse this power. How stand the facts? Take the building trades in New York city today. They are on strike in almost every line. Jobs are practically all unionized. A few months ago, the iron work was being put up on a large building. This iron work is classified. Those who put in the uprights are a different group from those who put in the beams and do other structural work. On this occasion the uprights were being put in place, and the walking delegate had been told that this work was being done by members of the wrong union. Without further ado, he called the men from work and declared the whole building on strike. They investigated the case and found that he was in error. The men who were at work putting in the uprights were not only union men, but belonged to the proper union and had their cards with them; but they had been out of work six hours before the error was thoroughly proved. Then the walking delegate went to the contractors and demanded that the men be paid for the six hours during which they had been on strike, which would have amounted to \$6,000, and he threatened to keep them permanently on strike if it was not paid. The demand was compromised for \$2,500.

Here was a case where a strike was ordered for no reason whatever, except the pig-headedness of a walking delegate, and \$2,500 was extorted from the employer. Of course, Mr. White will not defend this. But the union sustained this arrogant walking delegate and would have continued the strike if the employer had not consented to pay. It was simply robbery, which ought not to be tolerated anywhere. That walking delegate ought to have been liable to indictment for getting money under false pretenses. That was one of the results of unionizing the job.

During the present strike, one of the demands made

upon employers by the plasterers was that there should be a foreman to every two plasterers, and the foreman should not merely be a union man, but should be appointed by the union. Suppose that on a specially large building there were fifty plasterers at work, which frequently happens in New York; that would call for twenty-five foremen whose duty it would be to stand and look on. Another demand that was made, and for which they are still contending, is that the employers shall not pay the men, but that they must be paid through the union. Another demand is that besides having the power to appoint the foreman, who is immediately over the men, the union shall have the right to appoint the general superintendent, who is the personal representative of the employer. Still another contention is that no plasterer shall be permitted to do more than so many square yards a day, and if any workman does more than this he must be paid extra for it.

There have been several strikes where work is stopped through a quarrel between two unions. There are two organizations of carpenters: The United Brotherhood and the Amalgamated Association. The brotherhood is the larger organization, and it has demanded that the other one shall surrender its charter to the federation and go out of existence, or be absorbed by the brotherhood. The Amalgamated Association objected, and the brotherhood ordered a strike of its members on all the building jobs in this city. So here is a case where the bargains with the employers are entirely satisfactory, wages, hours, and other conditions, even to the bosses being members of the unions; but the hunger for power in one organization is so great that it decides that there shall be only one carpenters' union; and it inconvenienced the public, stopped the business of contractors, and arrested the progress of public buildings, wholly to appease that appetite to control. It is needless to say that such things are simply intolerable. And yet they are the result of the union shop. If the union can not have complete control without committing such outrages upon personal as well as economic freedom, then they should not have control. It is not so much a matter of the theory of organization as of the practise. It is quite clear that

the laborers are not yet fit to possess such power as is employed in the complete unionization of the shops of any industry.

In answer to Mr. White's remark—"Let those whose sensibilities are offended by the harsh methods resorted to put themselves in the workman's place and tell us what they would do." We would say, and the best friend of labor would say, and the public would say, that before the unions have a right to expect to be trusted with the power that a "unionized" shop implies, they must establish a standard for some degree of ordinary fairness and economic equity. What they should do first of all is to make a severe rule (and if the leaders would do it, it could be done), that only well-considered, rational propositions should be presented, and that any walking delegate or local union that attempted any such outrageous conduct as described above should be subjected to heavy penalty or exclusion from the union; in other words, that the leadership and influence of the union should be severely set against all such outrageous conduct. If any such policy were pursued by employers against the laborers, there would be a terrific hue and cry that the laborers were being persecuted.

Laborers have no more right to persecute employers, or trifle with their interests and with the public convenience, than capitalists have to persecute laborers, and until the unions resolutely set their faces against this kind of thing they are not fit to be entrusted with the unionization of employment. Despots should not be entrusted with absolute authority, in politics, industry, or ethics. It is this very conduct of abusing power (and not in the interest of labor or to better conditions, but in the mere destruction of property and wantonly or carelessly inconveniencing the public) that has led to the present revolt among employers. Employers and manufacturers throughout the country are organizing into a national association to protect themselves against the arrogant conduct of organized labor.

Of course, the employers' association will probably go to an extreme in the other direction, but whatever may result in that line will be largely due to the misuse of power by the

laborers. There is manifestly to be a fight between organized employers and organized laborers. It is unfortunate, because each combatant and the public will suffer, but it had better be so than that the arrogance of the unions should go unchecked. As Mr. White has said elsewhere \*, unions can not afford to endorse and defend this abuse of power.

In order thoroughly to unionize industry, the unions should make themselves of real service both to the employer and the community.' In the first place, membership in a union should be a guarantee of the workmanship and character of the mechanic, so that it would be to the economic interest of employers to turn to the unions for laborers rather than to the street corners. Next, the unions should represent the honor of the craft in fidelity to work and the carrying out of contracts, as well as in the economic use of material. The union should be the power that stands between the employer and the individual workman, to insist that the employer shall not be injured or swindled, but that he shall have faithful service, and, on the other hand, that the interests of the laborer shall be protected. If the unions would make this their policy, they would become strong without coercion. The employers would prefer them, the public would encourage them, and the non-union men would lose by being on the outside. It would then be a discredit, not only in the eyes of laborers, but in the eyes of employers and the community, not to belong to the union. But so long as unions use their power to injure employers, waste material, and make intolerable demands, they will remain under the ban and will tend to put non-union men at a premium.

Until unions fill their function as economic organizations which not only make bargains, but assume the responsibility for honorably carrying out contracts, the open shop will be a necessity in the community. The non-union laborer (not the "scab") does, indeed, hinder the growth of exclusive power in the union; but this is a wholesome function. Unions are doing much good, but they are far from fit to be trusted with

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\* See June number, page 488.

the monopoly of the labor market and conditions. So long as it is necessary to use coercion and physical methods to build up unions, it is safe to say that unions are not fit to be entrusted with exclusive power.

The open shop is the place of natural selection; it is the free field for the play of economic forces. If employers generally will in good faith adopt the open shop, that is to say, employ either union or non-union labor, and treat with the union men through their representative if they so elect, and the non-union men through their committees, or individually, as they elect, then the union can grow on its merits. If by furnishing benefits to members, or being able to furnish them employment (because employers prefer union to non-union men), or by furnishing any other advantages, the unions grow, their strength will be useful to laborers, employers, and the public; but so long as they can build up only by coercion they are sure to rule by despotism, and the despotism of unions is as sure to be overthrown as is despotism in any other sphere of human experience. Progress will not tolerate despotism, especially the despotism of wanton arrogance, and if the unions do not eliminate this from their practise, as well as from their theory, they are sure to be compelled to encounter non-union laborers, antagonism of employers, and the lack of confidence of the public.

The time has gone when despotic employers can systematically persecute and coerce laborers. The standard of industrial morality in the community will not tolerate it. So, likewise, the coercion of unions will not be tolerated. So long as they live on coercion they will have to fight for their lives. Until they rise entirely above the spirit of persecution, they can not and ought not to receive the recognition of employers, or the confidence and support of the public. This is a matter of education and experience. The standard of economic fairness in unions will be evolved only through struggle and repeated defeats. Until this is accomplished, the open shop is an economic necessity, as a part of the evolution of the real economic trade union.

## A PERMANENT LABOR COURT OF APPEALS.

It has long been clear to the careful student of economy and industry that the labor union is a permanent element in modern industry. Despite its many evils it is futile to attempt any remedy that looks toward suppressing the union. As well might we try to suppress corporate capital and decide to return to period of hand labor and the stage coach.

The exasperating conduct of the walking delegate is often little short of highwayry, having in many instances developed into a system of blackmailing, might well disgust the employer and destroy all respect for the union by the public. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the evils of the walking delegate and of the ignorant, hot-headed strike advocates, are elements to be eliminated from the union and are not to be cured by the extermination of the union itself. Any attempt to deal with the disturbing and often distressing elements of the labor problem without counting on this fact is doomed to failure.

Such movements as are now being undertaken by the Manufacturers' Association under the leadership of Mr. Parry of Indianapolis and Mr. Kirby of Dayton, Ohio, will add fuel to the fire rather than contribute any element of peace. To be sure, the temptation to do as Mr. Parry is doing is very great. The conduct of many of the unions is sufficiently exasperating to stir up just that kind of hostility, and it may be partly excused as due to great provocation, but it can never be justified. It is simply falling to the level of the worst elements among the labor unions. As has often been said and pointed out in this magazine, that policy chiefly serves as a means of inciting the union to do their worst instead of encouraging them to do their best. The Parrys and the Kirbys are intensifying the difficulty instead of contributing to any rational solution of the problem.

Disquieting as it often seems, there is but one way out of the seemingly ugly industrial situation, and that is in the frank recognition of organized action on both sides. The evils of ar-

bitrary dictation, blackmailing walking delegates, revengeful strikes, and the multitude of intolerable things done in the name of labor unions, can be eliminated only through processes of moral intelligence and respected organization; and never by mere repression. The spirit of arbitration has long been the hoped-for solution, but the chief difficulty with arbitration is that it comes into operation only after bad blood has been aroused by both sides to the controversy, and after one or both sides are well-nigh exhausted. Moreover, when the arbitrators are called they are usually extremely unsatisfactory. Those who are interested in, and therefore familiar with, the situation, on either side, can not be chosen to arbitrate; and persons entirely ignorant of the nature of the dispute are appealed to, such as bishops, parsons, lawyers, and shop-keepers. It is because this kind of arbitration is so unsatisfactory that the unions are almost unanimously in favor of compulsory arbitration. Yet it is inevitable that industrial disputes must be settled by some means of third party adjudication, just as civil disagreements and disturbances in society.

The evolution of civilization has been gradually to create institutions that equitably and peacefully adjust social, industrial, and civil differences in society. The tendency has ever been toward establishing tribunals to which appeal may be made and whose decisions shall be final. The tendency has also been to make this court of appeal, whether it be the local magistrate or the supreme court, a competent body, and it is in this direction that equity will finally prevail.

The present method of the trying of strength and "fighting to a finish" is the method of barbarism. It is the principle of the "family feud" of the Kentucky mountains, and injures everybody concerned. Nobody is particularly to blame for this. It has grown out of the situation. The walking delegate is the natural answer to the blacklist. He was the response of the union to the persecution of the employer. Like many other institutions, he was once inevitable, if the unions were not to perish, but as the unions have grown, the walking delegate has become a dictator much after the fashion of the political boss, although much more effective because of his

greater power for destruction. He can stop the progress of industries at its most critical point and demand blackmail as the price for again setting the machinery in motion.

There are numerous other cases where the walking delegates has demanded a bribe of a considerable sum to order the men back to work. At this moment there is a walking delegate, Parks, of New York, under indictment for this kind of conduct. All this, of course, is not merely irritating, it must ultimately become unbearable. It is one of the features of organized labor that must be eliminated. All unions must be so readjusted as to dispense with the walking delegate nuisance. Of course, this will be a difficult task, because much of the power of the labor union is in the hands of the board of walking delegates. It can hardly be expected that these business agents will ever legislate or arbitrate themselves out of existence, or permit any one else to do so, without a strenuous fight. Nevertheless, their very high-handed conduct is rapidly working their own destruction. It is only by keeping both union members and employers in a state of terror that they can maintain their position, and this is always a costly and in the end a destructive policy. It has led manufacturers and employers to resort to the retaliating policy of the Parrys and Kirbys.

But in New York city the interests are too great, the unions too strong, in short, the competing parties are both too well organized to permit the Parry warfare to succeed. The employers were compelled to organize, but the unions were so strong, and public sentiment was so thoroughly in favor of fair play and of the rights of laborers to organize, that any attempt on the part of the employers merely to destroy the unions was foredoomed to failure. The organization of the employers became absolutely necessary for self-preservation; but experience taught that any peaceful arrangement must ultimately recognize equal rights for both sides. The outcome has been that the employers in the building trades in New York, where work has been practically at a standstill for months through strike complications, have formed a union. At first the idea was to fight the labor unions, but the more rational

and experienced saw the futility of this and convinced the majority that if the organization was to have good results it must be on practically the same lines upon which labor unions are conducted, that it must be an organization to protect the employers' interests and not to break up the labor unions, and this could be done only by opposing union to union. Finally the best brain and experience among the employers was devoted to forming a working plan that would give full recognition and representation to organization on both sides and provide a system for arbitrating difficulties before they reach the period of strikes and consequent bad feeling. The scheme provides for an arbitration board in each trade, by which all difficulties in that trade may be adjusted, and also for a general arbitration board. The general arbitration board is to be formed as follows:

Each association represented in the Building Trades Employers' Association of the city of New York shall elect two arbitrators who shall serve for not less than six months.

Each union, the employers of which are represented in the Building Trades Employers' Association, shall elect two arbitrators, who shall serve for not less than six months, and who shall be in the employment of a member of the Building Trades Employers' Association at the time of their election.

The arbitrators from the unions shall not be business agents or members of any central board of employees.

From this body of general arbitrators not less than four, two from the employers' association and two from the employees' unions, shall constitute a court of appeals. They shall meet within forty-eight hours when notified so to do by the general secretary.

The arbitrators from the unions are guaranteed re-employment by their firm or corporation when the special case on which they have served has been disposed of.

Strikes are not to be ordered against any member of the Employers' Association, and no lockout is to be declared before the matter in dispute is brought to the general arbitration board for settlement. Before arbitration proceedings are started complaints will be made to the general secretary of the arbitration board. Any union or any member of an employers' association may select from all the general arbitrators the per-

sons preferred as judges, but no general arbitrator can act in a dispute occurring in the trade he represents.

Stenographic reports of the proceedings are to be taken, and after a few trials precedents will be established and may be quoted as in courts of law.

This plan practically creates a permanent court of appeals, an idea we have long advocated.\* After several weeks' discussion this plan has been accepted by the union, and is now in operation in the building trades in the metropolis. This is perhaps the greatest step that has been made in the direction of harmonizing labor and capital in this country.

This plan has the advantage over other arbitration schemes, because it provides that arbitration shall come before the strike, and that the court of final appeal shall pass upon the question of dispute before any steps shall be taken toward a strike on the one side or a lockout on the other, and the decision of this court is to be final. If both sides act in good faith in appealing to this tribunal and in accepting its decision, the chief causes of strikes and social disturbances will have been eliminated from the situation. It is also superior to previous efforts of the kind because the court of appeals is not to be made up of outsiders, but of parties directly interested in the controversy, and both sides are to be equally represented. The laborers and the employers are on the same footing, and with the same voting power as the employer. Besides being put on their honor to render a just and equitable decision, they are both interested in a satisfactory outcome and they are both familiar with the details of the questions involved. This is democratic, judicial, and equitable. It is thoroughly consistent with the principles of economics, of ethics, and of representative government.

This plan has another advantage. It renders the occupation of the walking delegate entirely unnecessary. With him would go all those irritating and degrading methods of black-

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\* See *Lecture Bulletin*, "Can Strikes Be Avoided, and How?" Also "A Practical Remedy for Strikes," GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, August, 1897.

mailing and coercion that have done so much to injure the union with the employers. This does not mean that all will be harmony, and that the relation of employer and laborer will be a continuous love feast; but it means that a rational and equitable basis for conducting their relations will have been established and that the chief causes for suspicion and jealousy on the one side and coercion on the other will have disappeared.

If this agreement is lived up to in good faith, much may be expected from it in rationalizing the whole labor controversy. If it succeeds in New York city it can succeed anywhere in the country. Much will depend here upon the good sense and conservative spirit of the leaders of both sides in the beginning. A very excellent arrangement in this direction was entered into by the Metal Trades Association and the International Union a few years ago. It went to pieces through the injudicious, though technically correct, action of the president of engineers. Both sides have seen the error of this and have repented the action. It is sincerely to be hoped that a similar misfortune will not befall the present arrangement in the New York building trades.

Are they both equal to the opportunity? If not, they will have to pay the penalty till they are sufficiently educated to stand the test of representative adjustment of industrial conditions. If they fail this time, after having paid the penalty, they will ultimately have to return to substantially the same plan. No other principle will permanently work in a free country. Under democratic conditions, recognized representative relations must be the basis of industrial intercourse. This fact might as well be recognized first as last. The plan finally adopted by the building trades in New York city has this essential feature, and if it succeeds it will be the real beginning of rationalizing the labor conditions of the republic. Although it is the outcome of an expensive struggle, it will be well worth all it has cost.

# THE SHADOW OF RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

AN AMERICAN IN CHINA\*

The substantial objections to the further expansion of Russia in the Orient are two: first, her policy is exclusive in so far as it relates to other countries; and, second, her type of government is opposed to general education and enlightenment.

The question that arouses the most immediate antagonism of the people of the United States is her policy of exclusiveness, which is best shown in the following demands made upon China:

- I.—The Chinese Government should promise Russia to have Manchuria thoroughly opened by treaty ports for the Russians; but no other nation can trade there and appoint consuls.
- II.—All mines and railways of Manchuria the Chinese Government should conduct together with the Russians; but no other nations are allowed to be interested in them.
- III.—The organization of troops of Manchuria should be regulated by the Russians. Other nationalities are not allowed to interfere.
- IV.—All official yamens and regulations thereof in Manchuria the Chinese Government should leave as they are fixed by Russia; no alterations can be made.
- V.—The land of Manchuria should never be given to any other countries.
- VI.—The tax of land and duties of every kind that are collected from Manchuria should be deposited in the Russo-Chinese Bank.
- VII.—The Chinese should let Russia put a wire along the telegraph poles throughout Manchuria, to be directed by the Russian only.
- VIII.—Russia should have the sole power to conduct all affairs in the vicinity of Niu-chwang; no inquiries can be made by consuls of other nations.

At Harbin, Mukden, and all places where railway stations have been established throughout Manchuria, Russia has already possessed herself of all the land for several miles about each station, and refuses to permit the citizens of other nations to own land there. She establishes her own police regulations

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\* This is the second of two articles on the Far Eastern question written for this magazine by an authority on the whole subject, who is now resident in China. The first article, entitled "Russia and Japan," appeared in GUNTON's for July.

and laws covering these places, and refuses residence to any one, except by special permission and under regulations of Russian law.

This has been done without any agreement with either China or the powers holding rights equal to hers as far as trade is concerned. By this means she forces an open door for herself in Manchuria, and shuts the door in the face of other nations.

Russians may go anywhere in American or British possessions, and have all the privileges of owners in mining, manufacturing, and trade; but consider what Russia asks in Manchuria. No treaty ports or foreign trade centers are to be permitted; she demands exclusive consuls, exclusive troops, the exclusive right to appoint consular officials, and the exclusive right of army administration and treaty making; and, finally, that the exclusive right for both railways and mines shall rest with Russians and Chinese, and, under existing conditions, that simply means Russians.

It is important for our statesmen, as well as our people generally, to comprehend the wide difference between our protective policy of government and this illiberal, exclusive and dominating policy of Russia over all the territory she controls.

Our policy is protective for the wise purpose of building and maintaining a high standard of civilization, while hers is prohibitive for the purpose of adding power and glory to the Tsar and his army of officials, and keeping the masses in ignorance and poverty. Already Russia dominates one-sixth of the earth's surface, and possesses the greatest mass of undeveloped wealth. If the policy of Russia were as broad and as liberal as that of Great Britain, our country would gladly welcome her as a neighbor on the Pacific; and we should offer no opposition to her expansion in China, if her methods, like those of Japan, were protective to her own industries and people, and progressive and liberal in her relations with the rest of the world.

With such prohibitive methods, with her clearly defined purpose of exclusiveness in her expansion in China, we can have no sympathy; but, on the other hand, we must develop a gradual and determined policy of opposition.

The development of the United States into the greatest manufacturing country in the world, and the great increase of the exports of our manufactured goods, are influences beyond our control, impelling us by our internal expansive force into world-politics. The brief margin of time left to us before it will be necessary to have open doors to the Oriental markets demands that our statesmen should see that all the rights and privileges we now have are maintained, that the markets now open to us are not closed by force of arms, and that militarism does not stop the growth of industrialism.

The second serious danger to our country, by this extravagant expansion of the territory and political dictatorship of Russia, lies in the great mass of humanity that she will hold in poverty, ignorance, and practical industrial and political slavery. The dearest lesson in the history of our country was the one taught us that "a nation can not exist half slave and half free." Perhaps the most severe experience we shall meet in the field of world-politics that we are just entering will be the one that will establish the fact that the world can not live half slave and half free. If Russia is allowed to add to her present vast millions of ignorant and low-lived people the many millions of the same class in China, we shall soon have upon the Pacific shores an industrial conflict that will shake our commerce, our trade, and our high civilization to their very centers.

Coal, iron, lime, and minerals of all other kinds are to be found in China in unlimited quantities, combined with cheap labor, cheap food, cheap transportation, and a type of humanity easily held in subjection by such a power as Russia. Combine all this with machinery, science, organizing power, and Russianism, and you will have a condition of industrial competition that will force free men into competition with slavery in all the markets of the world.

While it is no part of our country's purpose or duty to interfere with the industrial growth of any other country, it will ere long become a part of our policy and political action to protect our workers against the competition of serf-labor wherever found. There is no way by which this can better be accom-

plished, to ward off the imminent danger to our country, than by using all the forces at our command to maintain the open door in China, including Manchuria.

Japan has forty millions of people, and her standard of living for her working classes is below ours; yet, instead of being a menace, under the wisdom of her statesmanship, her advancement is a profit to us, and she is buying more and more of the things we have to sell as her civilization advances. Under similar conditions China would increase her trade with us, and add to her own and our wealth. Under the illiberal and dominating militarism of Russia, however, we should lose whatever markets we now have in China, and our future prospects would be blighted. We should also see erected across the Pacific an industrial and political system that would menace our own splendid civilization.

It is a serious misfortune that the hand of Russia can not be stayed for ten years. By that time the growth of our interests in the world's affairs will reach such proportions, and our power in world-politics become so powerful, that a note from our Secretary of State will command respect.

I would not desire to be understood as asserting that Russian policy is altogether bad, that Russia has done nothing to advance the welfare of the world, or as implying that as a power she should be suppressed. In the first place she has done and is still doing much for the advancement of the world, and many of her extensions of territory have resulted in wider freedom and in better conditions.

Under the free play of industrial forces in the creation and distribution of wealth, under a political policy that would insure "protection to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" we should welcome her on the shores of the Pacific, for we remember her great kindness to us in our hours of darkest trouble. But our reason, our judgment, our aspirations for the future, and our great faith in enlightenment and human liberty, as well as our strong determination to maintain the open door in China, are irresistibly driving us into the camp of her enemies.

## IS AN AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY POSSIBLE?

ANNA M'CLURE SHOLL

The most obvious social characteristics of the last fifty years have been, broadly speaking, the growth of the democratic spirit, and the development of the individual along democratic lines.

This growth implies to many the corresponding decline of aristocracy. In Europe, conservatism laments over the encroachments of the proletariat, and the consequent weakening of the aristocratic tradition. In the United States, the concern is lest a democracy strengthened by wealth should assume the power of aristocracy without its restraining elements of sweetness and light.

Is this concern justifiable? or, rather, is an American aristocracy, of whatever nature, possible in a country avowedly devoted to democratic ideals?

It may be well to inquire into the traditional or conventional meaning of aristocracy, before considering it as a possible element in American social life.

In its ideal sense it signifies the power of the best, but as men are not inhabitants of an ideal world, and as the best are not always the most powerful, this nobler meaning of aristocracy may be set aside, the conventional meaning alone considered, and an attempt be made to find ideal elements in the actual conditions.

The conventional conception is of a class of society, or of the spirit which actuates this class. As in every social order there has been an aristocratic class, the former conception is the more tangible and the more popular.

What are the characteristics of this class? or what is its essential characteristic?

By reference to history its essential characteristic would seem to be the possession of power. This power may have various sources, as mental ability in the Athens of Sophocles, citizenship in the Rome of Augustus, the possession of land

in England, of title in Spain, of superior culture and cunning in Renaissance Italy.

It must be emphasized that the power, whatever its source, gains its aristocratic character only through its continuance. The English nobleman who should lose his ancestral lands would lose also the social power of the aristocrat. The aristocracy of the Medici family was dependent upon its continued rule of Florence. The brilliant Athenians, disbanded and deprived of their power after the fall of the city, ceased to form an aristocracy. Aristocracy, as represented by class, may be defined, then, as the possession and continued exercise of power by a number of persons similarly situated.

But there is a recognized spirit of aristocracy, as well as an aristocratic body. To define this sphere is much more difficult. Broadly speaking, it is the result of the continuance of power and position. It implies self-possession, the ability to deal with men, the pride of those near the throne, who share with the throne the scrutiny of society, the obedience to the obligations of an Order, by which connection with that Order is most clearly manifest; and, finally, a stateliness of life and manners which should reflect these different elements, of which the chief is, perhaps, obedience to the obligations of an Order. In the English aristocracy this sense of *noblesse oblige* has attained, perhaps, its fullest development.

The manifestations of the aristocratic spirit in its noble or less noble phases are better understood, perhaps, by reference to types. An ideal aristocrat is found in Philip Sidney, or in Bayard of sweet tradition. Bismarck represented the strength of aristocracy; Mary Stuart its seduction; Louis the Sixteenth its irresponsibility, springing, by paradox, from too much responsibility; Spenser its romantic spirit, born of long acquaintance with chivalry; Tennyson its exemption from the roughness of life; Charles the First its melancholy. The aggregate of all these qualities, together with the nameless silent equation, make up the aristocratic spirit, which many believe to be perishing from society because the authority of

the class which embodies it seems to be passing away before more powerful elements of modern life.

For many centuries in Europe the authority of rank was supreme. The sharp distinctions of the Middle Ages admitted of no sharing either of spiritual or material luxuries. From the limbo of class there was no escape. Those, therefore, who had been powerful, fortunate and at ease with life through many generations, did develop qualities which marked them sharply from the majority battered by existence. The ages which brought forth the sodden peasant, bearing life as a dumb animal, brought forth also the great noble, who looks from some canvas of Velásquez or Van Dyck with alluring aloofness. The power of the civilized world was rank, both as an ideal and a fact. The exalted classes not only preserved the fine wine of human nature by continuance in power, but they regarded this wine as their exclusive possession. Philip Sidney could give his cup of cold water to a common soldier, but the soldier would have been assuming a prerogative of knighthood should he have offered his cup with similar generosity. The aristocrats, being the official guardians of all chivalrous virtues and noble traits, were as jealous of these spiritual possessions as of their titles and lands. This jealousy finds, perhaps, its most complete literary expression throughout the plays of Shakspere.

The invention of printing, the discovery and settlement of America, the revival of classical learning, and the Reformation, were the great agencies in that weakening of the authority of rank which approached a crisis toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when the submerged classes were beginning to emerge; when rationalism was preparing the way for science; when Rousseau was opening the flood gates of revolt against the old order; when the social spirit of the coming century was approaching its blood-stained birth in the American and French revolutions.

The most potent foe to the European aristocracy of rank, however, has been bred out of conditions peculiar to the second half of this century; and it is in the consideration of these conditions that the question of an American aristocracy comes

naturally to the front. The discovery of the uses of steam and of electricity; the invention of machinery; the extension of railways; the opening-up of the middle and western sections of the United States, and the opportunities thus presented for European speculation; the formation of trusts brought forth that most potent ally of democracy—up to a certain degree—the commercial spirit, the last and greatest of those agencies which have weakened or displaced the authority of rank.

In the United States alone could the commercial spirit attain its full strength, because in this country alone no traditions of rank existed to combat it. No imperial or kingly ghosts, as in France, troubled its democratic growth. Before the nation began its existence it was prepared for its democracy by two hundred years of leveling struggle with the wilderness, in a continent cut off from European influences. To assure further the free growth of wealth, the era of its material development did not arrive, until, after the war of 1812, the organic existence of the republic was placed on a firm basis.

This material development has been and is the chief factor in imposing the democratic ideal upon the countries of Europe. An impoverished republic may be tolerated by its kingly or imperial neighbors, but it is neither feared nor followed. The democratic influence of the United States was not felt, indeed, until the nation became wealthy, until through its unparalleled prosperity it was able to give birth to a force which is weakening the authority of rank abroad, and, within its own limits, is producing social conditions which for variety and complexity have never been equaled in the world's history.

But, by a peculiar paradox, the very force which has made the democratic ideal of the United States potent in Europe, has tended within its own borders to foster certain conceptions of society markedly aristocratic in their character. On every hand wealth is forming liaisons with European traditions of rank, and seeking to express these traditions in the manner and customs of daily living. The nation which repudiated the tyranny of kings seems coming under the authority of its own material prosperity.

Since power is the basis of aristocracy, and since the source

of power in this country is riches, do the wealthy citizens of the United States form an aristocracy? or does this class possess elements out of which an aristocracy might eventually be evolved?

Local aristocracy of a true and noble stamp certainly exists in the United States, but it can not be considered in this discussion because it is not powerful. The plain living and high thinking of New England circles, yet unspoiled by material ambitions; the chivalry of the old South; the frankness and generosity of the new West—all these elements are indeed aristocratic in the nobler and more spiritual sense, but the classes embodying them are not, as a rule, the moneyed classes.

That an aristocracy of wealth is dreamed of, many signs show. So closely allied are strength and rank that democracy grown rich inevitably assumes the discarded traditions of monarchy, so opprobrious in the days of that bleak estate known as honest poverty. One of the most curious of the phenomena of the age is the effort of a newly rich American to reproduce, with the aid of millions, the life, for instance, of an English gentleman, whose ancestral house has descended to him as the shelter of that other and greater legacy, the tradition of his line. Wealth attempts to buy from Europe all it has lost in the name of equality. Each year society becomes more formal in its organization, more stately in its mode of living. Country and city houses, liveried servants, all the material accessories of high position are present in American social life. With this increasing formality the recognition of caste grows keener and stricter, destroying or modifying in its growth certain primitive qualities of a republican society, such as neighborliness, or devotion to the duties of local citizenship. If the aristocracy of rank confer obligations, the attempt to form an aristocracy of wealth in this country seems so far to have released many of its members from duty that they may the more closely follow pleasure. The form of exalted position may be there, but the spirit is wanting.

In the significant third generation, the social consciousness of a rich American family reaches, as a rule, its full develop-

ment. The evolution of this third generation has never been paralleled in any other state of society. The founder of the family usually begins life as a poor boy. Acquiring a fortune through business genius or speculation, he leaves his children wealthy and important members of the community, their social imaginations well awakened. The father is, as a rule, content, to the day of his death, with Jeffersonian simplicity of living. He is a good citizen; nor does he desire to render himself inaccessible by outward symbols of power. W. D. Howells's greatest creation, Silas Lapham, is the typical founder of the wealthy American family, whose social ambitions, if he have any, are always for his children, never for himself. The children, on the other hand, think of themselves as social factors, sometimes forgetting their parents. This awakening of the social imagination generally results in certain triumphs of the significant third generation, which may include the marriage of a daughter to a duke, or the leadership of the local four hundred. But these triumphs are, as a rule, purely social. The ambition seems to be to gain position, and to accept only the drawing-room duties of position.

In this evolution from poverty and obscurity to wealth and influence the American woman takes a leading part. More highly organized, and more capable of indefinite development than her sister of any other nation, she is peculiarly fitted to bring forth, or to be herself a member of, the third generation. Her husband has only to supply the money, and she accomplishes her aims with the tact and skill of a diplomat. She has made herself the mistress of two worlds, the old and the new. She takes the rights of rank without claiming them. She knows for her own any sphere which she can adorn. To her far-seeing imagination and social genius is due to a great degree the present tendency to form an aristocracy on the only basis possible in a—presumably—democratic country, that of wealth.

If an American aristocracy could be formed at all it could be formed from the members of this third generation, in whom the strength of riches has brought forth, as a rule, a certain element of sweetness. They have imbibed European

culture. They are, or wish to be, cosmopolitan in their sympathies. They have learned to assume the state of aristocrats in their mode of living, in their leadership of society. If their imitation of European aristocratic life lack the last vital touch which should transform it into a reality, it is, at least, a very clever and minute imitation. True to the immemorial character of converts, they have out-Romaned the Romans, the zeal of those without birthright being full upon them.

But whatever the tendencies of wealthy Americans of the present day, it is extremely improbable that an aristocracy of wealth should ever come into being.

It has been seen that an aristocracy depends chiefly upon two conditions—the continued possession and exercise of power, and the consequent unity of aims and ideals.

The aristocratic body in England, for instance, is self-conscious; its members are united by mutual understanding. They acknowledge certain well-recognized laws of life and manners. They depend upon each other to uphold these laws. Individually, wealthy Americans may be both self-conscious and self-assertive, but collectively they are antagonistic to one another. The accumulation of wealth implies struggle, and struggle does not bring forth the kind of qualities which makes of the gentle and stately men and women of Van Dyck's canvases one great family.

Groups of wealthy Americans are scattered over the country from Maine to California, but they have no mutual understanding, no common bond, no password, no infallible social standard by which to test one another. As wealth rather than family or culture becomes more and more the mark of power, an atmosphere of mutual suspicion prevails more and more in social life. Each city and town has its capitalists, who, in some cases, would run certain social risks should they venture beyond the limits of the circle where they are known.

The vague uneasiness which pervades society in the United States, especially the society of wealth, is the penalty paid for being born without traditions. It is useless to argue that this uneasiness, this mutual suspicion, this sense of class, should not exist in a democratic country. It does exist, just

because it is democratic; or, rather, because its democracy is an assumption rather than a reality. The constitution of 1776 was made for poor men.

Liberty never did and never will imply equality, because men, though equal in their rights, can never be so in their capacities. The strong will emerge, the weak go under. One of the greatest perils of the republic, and one reason why a genuine American aristocracy can never be formed, is that a strong class has arisen, without its strength being officially recognized, as in the aristocracy of rank, and certain duties and obligations towards society are imposed upon it by that recognition. For if wealthy Americans lack social unity among themselves, they lack also to a great degree, the sense of social responsibility, that mark of a true aristocracy. Men do not go into politics because they are powerful and wealthy, but because they wish to be powerful and wealthy. The American business man who is making fortunes is apt to neglect his political duties. He develops an enormous selfishness, for which he may atone later by wholesale gifts to universities, though the ideal of a generous and loyal citizenship is not greatly heightened thereby. If he go into politics at all, it is generally for the purpose of attaining protection for his own interests, rather than the interests of the community at large. The responsibilities of a Gladstone or a Wyndham are too often beyond the range of his comprehension.

The sense of his public duties, inborn in an English aristocrat, is owing, to be sure, largely to the law of primogeniture, a law which also insures to him that wealth without which the aristocratic ideal cannot be perfectly enforced. He is expected to take his seat in parliament, to give his aid in legislation, to perform certain public duties which have no connection with his own material prosperity. He looks after the interests of his tenantry. His ancestral home is a microcosm of the larger life of his nation, with its attendant associations of interdependence and inherited obligations.

Though these are not elements of American life, because of the constitution of the republic, those striving for aristocratic position through the medium of wealth should remember that

strength, as possessed by European aristocracy, implies not only enjoyment, but duty. The attempted legislation to limit the power of trusts is the first well-defined effort in this country to force wealth into the recognition of its duties to society at large, to compel strength to remember that it has obligations as well as privileges. This enforced chivalry may be negative, but it is significant as being the reversion of the republic to a theory of society which had its birth under the rule of kings.

Another bar to unity of social aims and ideals among the wealthy is their frequent lack of genuine culture. Even the culture of the third generation is oftener imposed upon its members than inherent in their systems. This is owing largely to the fact that education is divorced from, or rather does not imply, gentle breeding. The sharp American brain is quickened at the expense of the heart. To know rather than to feel is the aim, and ideals are not born of knowledge alone. The culture which implies courtesy and humanity—those aristocratic essentials—is too often lacking.

If this unity of social ideals upon which an aristocracy largely depends does not now exist, is it likely to be evolved out of the present conditions?

Its evolution would depend largely upon the permanent power of one class, exercised in the right direction. But though the second condition may be possible, the first can never be. The supreme power of wealth is unquestioned, but it could not produce an aristocracy, noble or ignoble, unless its permanence in certain families could be insured. This is scarcely possible in any country where the law of primogeniture does not hold good, least of all in the United States. Under conditions peculiar to American life, great fortunes are constantly changing hands. Accumulated by the fathers, they are squandered by the sons, or divided among many children, or lost through mismanagement or speculation. The aristocracy of wealth constantly endangers its position by its very style of living, making large demands on even large fortunes. The law of decay, which eventually protects society from power of whatever nature, operates to disperse wealth so that the powerful class can not be the permanent class, can not there-

fore form an aristocracy. It is the safeguard of the aristocracy of rank that its power is mystical as well as material; can never, therefore, wholly perish.

Another bar to unity and permanency in the wealthy class is the constant inundation of newcomers. Into the rose-lighted drawing-room may stride at any moment a breezy Westerner, claiming the hospitality of American brotherhood, or a member of the first generation, his riches raw upon him.

If an aristocracy of wealth be out of the question, it is at least possible for the wealthy citizens of the United States to uphold, while they are in power, the aristocratic ideal, and on them, as the most powerful and conspicuous class, this duty chiefly devolves. Certain qualities of rank in its purest manifestation, its gentleness, its charm, its sense of duty, its loyalty, its fine indifference, its courtesy—these have been too long in the possession of obscure citizens of the United States, gentlemen and scholars of old New England, transcendental and neighborly; or women of the fair South, high-bred and sweet; or humble, faithful toilers on the farm, or in the shop. These American aristocrats, being for the most part in unexalted positions, can not enforce the great tradition. To be most effective, it should be upheld by those in power, even though that power prove but temporary. By appropriating the spiritual, rather than the material symbols, of aristocracy, wealthy Americans would gain the best that Europe has to give without sacrificing the essential ideals of the republic.

## PRESERVATION OF GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

There is now every prospect that the reform administration of New York will be re-elected this Autumn. Its re-election is not only desirable because it would prevent the return to power of Tammany Hall, but it is necessary in order to preserve good government here and afford an example of municipal righteousness for the entire country. It is, therefore, gratifying to all friends of good government that the chances of success in the coming election are not only encouraging, but that they are becoming more satisfactory every day.

One of the most interesting as well as one of the most significant features of this struggle between good government and Tammany Hall is that the organization founded by Aaron Burr, watered by Tweed, and brought to its perfection of corruption by Richard Croker, is, despite the fact that it is out of office, forced to take the defensive. This is remarkable because, even in a losing and desperate fight, there is nearly always the opportunity of assailing your enemy. But Tammany Hall has not been able to make any successful assault upon the reform administration. After two years of retirement, it is still forced to defend its own malodorous reputation and record.

Tammany is, indeed, always on the defensive, whether it is in office or not. It has committed so many crimes against the city, and has plundered and robbed in so many places, high and low, and its reputation is so stained and besmirched, that it must defend itself against attack, or perish utterly. The forces of good government, of cleanliness, and of civic righteousness, are always arrayed against it, either to drive it from office or to beat down its efforts to recover its lost position.

This anomalous situation has, however, its disadvantages. In one regard it is favorable, and in another it is unfavorable, to the forces of good government. It is, of course, to the lasting credit of the reform administration that it has committed no blunder and perpetrated no wrong for which it can be justly assailed by Tammany Hall, or for which it must exculpate

or defend itself; but the absence of attack and the palpable weakness of its opponents remove from the battle much of its stimulus and inspiration. No army can fight so well as when it meets a foe that is worthy of its best efforts. There is no doubt that if Tammany could make even a specious assault upon the city administration, or could evoke some issue that would be alluring, the result would be a greater incitement to struggle, greater efforts put forth along the entire line, a more brilliant victory achieved, and the cause of good government more perfectly advanced and sustained.

There is the danger that the absence of vigorous attack may generate lukewarmness, indifference, and even neglect, on the part of the reform administration. In politics, nothing can be worse than lukewarmness, and if this should be the result in this instance, the city would spew the reform administration out of its mouth, as the spirit did the church of Laodicea for the same offense. In politics, as in almost everything else, enthusiasm is the best thing.

Tammany recognizes its own weakness in having no occasion to assail the administration of Mayor Low, and in not being able to present an attractive issue for the campaign. The only appeal it can make to its adherents is the sordid lust for spoils. The mere fact that it can not successfully attack the administration, and can raise no issue except the one of getting possession of the offices, is a confession of weakness that should be fatal to any party or faction.

In its desperate straits, Tammany has resorted to a very common, but in this case a very perilous, plan of charging the administration with being as bad as its predecessor. The argument that "you are just as bad" has so long been recognized as a ridiculous revelation of weakness, that it is remarkable that politicians usually as astute as those of Tammany Hall should be driven to it as a last resource. The only circumstance in which such a retort is at all effective is one that would be to the lasting discredit of the party that made it. It would be one in which the retort itself would reveal at least as great a depth of wickedness as was exhibited by the accused.

It happily turns out that the case chosen by Tammany Hall for this *tu quoque* argument proved to be what the newspapers and politicians picturesquely call a "boomerang"—something that comes back and annihilates the unskilled thrower. Tammany charged that Commissioner Hawkes had made a contract, presumably for political considerations, with a very strong political friend in the Republican organization. The Commissioner was easily able to show that the contract had been made in a purely business way, and that when his Republican friend had tried to take an advantage of the city by offering short-weight cement in order to recoup for a low bid, the Commissioner promptly rejected the offer and turned back the cement upon the political contractor. This result was certainly unexpected by Tammany, and has proved a signal triumph for the reform administration. It merely gave occasion for a clean exhibit of good business sense and civic uprightness on the part of the commission and of the city administration. Tammany has shown, not only in this instance, but in many others, that it has only one idea of government—and that is the robbery of the people for the politicians. It actually took the greater part in its own fatal exposure and furnished the weapons which the reform administration was so prompt and successful in using.

The course of the present administration has been, from first to last, in striking contrast with that of its predecessor, and has illustrated the advantages to a municipality of a clean and efficient government. The best people of New York can not afford to suffer defeat when such great issues are at stake. The triumph of the reform administration in the coming election is not only deserved because of its efficiency and cleanliness, but it is essential to the interest of good government here and elsewhere.

## THE BOY IN FICTION

JULIA R. TUTWILER

I met him first in "Sandford and Merton," renewed his acquaintance in "Harry and Lucy," and continued it in "Frank," and I am glad to recall that even the uncritical mind of eight refused from the first either to enjoy him or believe in him. My knowledge of him never went beyond acquaintance. He was like a continued story that never concluded; you could begin just as easily in one place as you could leave off in another, for however the name varied the boy was always the same.

There was none of the blissful anguish with which you tore yourself, or, to be strictly truthful, were torn by an obdurate governess or a stony-hearted tutor, from "The Talisman," or "Rob Roy," or "Woodstock," at what you were sure was the crucial moment in spite of your elders' uncalled-for reminder that you had been just as sure of the same thing ten, twenty—numberless times before. And for the sake of this anguish I am ready to forgive him the hours of aching boredom spent in dutiful yawns over the pages recording his enormity of virtue. If he had been a Tom Brown, a Harry May, a Jackanapes, or a Hans Brinker; an East, a Tom Sawyer, or a Norman, Scott would not now be the beloved friend of my childhood with whom I passed enchanted hours, and to whom I owe the steadily increasing debt of an imagination enriched and made fruitful beyond the reach of a Bounderby or a Gradgrind.

The Bounderby and Gradgrind principle—the very pith of the commonplace—was the literary backbone of the Boy in Fiction who tyrannized over our childhood until the eventful day that one daring spirit, having received a handsomely bound copy of "Sandford and Merton" for a Christmas gift, after calling up the chimney for a month to Santa Claus for "The Arabian Nights," and asking her parents every morning if they thought Santa Claus would forget, declared that she

would never read another word of the detested book as long as she lived. Then we discovered that each one of us had long suffered and hated, the shame of confessing to low tastes alone having kept us silent. We looked on with trembling delight while she rent "little Harry's" fine deeds and words into tatters, and joined in cremating the remains with appropriate ceremonies. There followed a series of fires, akin to, if less destructive than, those consequent upon Bo-bo's first taste of crackling, and resulting in blank space on our book-shelves, and our release from an influence as unhealthy as that of the dime novel story, which at a later date was held up to obloquy.

For children have a saving instinct for truth and beauty, and "Sandford and Merton," "Frank," and "Harry and Lucy" are an offense against both, and, therefore, hopelessly discouraging to a child with imagination enough to be helped or hurt by fiction. Such a child feels the impossibility of a play-fellow's bearing without a sound a lashing severe enough to injure a grown person; of catching and stopping a horse running at full speed and dragging a man; of saving a playmate's life from an infuriated bull, and escaping without so much as a scratch; and of learning the alphabet in half an hour, and to read in two months, fluently and intelligently, stories whose phraseology he himself can not understand after half a dozen readings. And when the man saved from the runaway horse is the one who an hour earlier brutally beat his little rescuer, and the boy who learns to read in two months is notoriously idle and incompetent, the truthful instinct of a reader, boy or girl, revolts from the inherent falsity of the whole situation.

It was Miss Yonge who first introduced me to the Boy in Fiction with whom I played, studied, quarreled, and made up every day or two of my life, whose standards of honor and play I tried to make my own, whose faults I had a wholesome aversion to, and who was one of the strongest formative influences of my childhood. He stands out against the romance, the chivalry, the high ideals and poetic fancy of Sir Walter Scott as the intimate companion of everyday life. Into a world in which fairies were already unfolding from the truest realities of existence into the tradition, the aura which make reality

a forever budding prophecy and promise, he brought ceaseless activity and the opportunity to exercise it, a keen love of the rough and tumble of life, and an equally keen desire, not for money to buy beautiful things, but for capacity to know and enjoy them.

Miss Yonge's Boy is not always clever, and he is never perfect, but he is so healthily and sanely alive that he makes you ashamed not to be the same. Then, too, his opportunities are always at hand—there is no need of shipwrecks and desert islands, and a ship conveniently above water with convenient supplies until you have made friends with your island and your man Friday, and yourself in your strange, new life. You might long forever to be Robinson Crusoe in vain, but you could be Harry May, or Norman, or Reginald, or any of a score of boys by just making the most of your own country and your place in it. Not that shipwreck or desert island detracts from one of the most delightful books ever written. Defoe's realism is robust, inspiring, and spontaneous. The boy or girl who reads "Robinson Crusoe" forgets the moral of the shipwreck—indeed, if there is one, it is only the obvious screw and pulley of the ascending drop curtain—in happy absorption in Robinson Crusoe's pluck and ingenuity, and the alluring mysteries and opportunities of a genuine desert island. The truth of it all makes imagination as free and swift as the wind with the universe to scour and the solid ground comfortably under foot, and "Robinson Crusoe" of all days and generations.

This sanity of imagination and freedom from artificial standards are in vigorous contrast to the spurious realism and sham convention of "Sandford and Merton" and books of that ilk, and mark incisively the difference between the Boy in Fiction of to-day and of the days in which Mr. Edgeworth, in his preface to "Frank," sums up the literary ideals for children. After briefly stating that the object of books for children is to "cultivate the moral feelings, create a taste for knowledge, and at the same time amuse and interest," he says: "A few, and *quite sufficient for this purpose*"—the italics are Mr. Edgeworth's—"may be named; for instance, 'Fabulous

Histories,' 'Evenings at Home,' 'Berquin's Children's Friend,' 'Sandford and Merton,' 'Little Jack,' 'The Child's Miscellany,' 'Bob the Terrier,' 'Dick the Pony,' 'The Book of Trades,' 'The Looking-glass, or History of a Young Artist,' 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'The Travels of Rolando,' a book I mention with *some hesitation*, because, though it contains much knowledge, collected from various authors, yet it is too much mixed with fiction. 'Mrs. Wakefield on Instinct' I name with more confidence, because the facts and fiction are judiciously separated, so the reader is in no danger of mistaking truth for falsehood. To this juvenile library, perhaps may be added *parts* of 'White's Natural History of Selborne' and parts of 'Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History.'

The whole mechanism of Mr. Edgeworth's, Mr. Day's, and Miss Edgeworth's Boy in Fiction lies open before us in this ingenuous confession of literary faith. Their object—the manifest object of all fiction for children—is to instruct and discipline. Amusement, if conceded at all, must be diluted and incidental. Of the only two books in the whole list that a child might read for the pleasure of the moment, "Robinson Crusoe" alone escapes without an admonitory word, while Mr. Edgeworth's conscientious stricture upon the other, "The Travels of Rolando," renders commentary superfluous.

The Boy in Fiction did not slip at once or without a struggle with swaddling bands into the full stature of boyhood. "The Rollo Books" chronicle, perhaps a little self-consciously, another stage of his growth in acknowledging that study and play are widely different things, and that a normally constituted boy can do as little without the one as without the other. But there is still an interesting process of evolution between the good little boy whose immediate descendant Mark Twain has immortalized, and George Arthur; between Jack Harkaway and the boys of "Treasure Island" and "Kidnapped." The Boy of the Sunday-school Story, the Boy of the Travel Story, and the Boy of the Dime Novel Story, in the beginning pegs upon which were hung theological dogma, geography and history, and sensational adventures and achieve-

ments, have developed from the moral prig, the educational prig, and the artificial young bravo, into the representatives—at least in England and America—of national standards and ideals. “Tom Brown’s Schooldays” mirrors the highest ideals of manliness and Christianity without a breath of cant or dogma; Jackanapes and Tony Johnson bring a tear and a smile and a proud thrill of recognition. Haven’t we all known and loved—and laughed at, too, sometimes—boys and soldiers like them? There are Lauries, and Hans Brinkers and Donald Marcys among us, to be emulated and loved because they are brave and true and energetic and earnest and hot-tempered and obstinate and—human.

It is this human note which differentiates the Boy in Fiction whom we love from the Boy in Fiction whom we have hated, and makes his relation to environment and incident, not theirs to him, the important thing. The effort of the modern Travel Story and Story of Adventure is not to recite facts, but to enlarge the horizon of life and character—to reproduce color and atmosphere into which “the pygmy man” infuses the vitality of character and achievement, not to certify the boundary lines of India, the rivers and mountains of South Africa, the ruins of the Roman Forum, the paintings, statues and monuments of Florence, the number of battles fought on British or American soil. For it is the Boy who makes India and South Africa and Italy places of valor and sacrifice, of clean and energetic living, of dauntless persistence, and those British and American battlefields the chart of an honorable independence and the springs of patriotism of time as well as of country—the Boy who dominates detached facts and morals. And nowhere is this domination more significant than on the eclectic shelves of the modern Sunday-school library.

In America, Sidney Lanier and Howard Pyle have taken the lead in releasing boys from the bondage of false ideals of heroic adventure. Miss Alcott was one of the first American writers who dared to make boys and girls human. To Mary Mapes Dodge belongs the honor of first—in a story for children—so subordinating geography and history to color and atmos-

sphere, and both to the boy who is her hero, that her delighted reader wonders when he gets to Holland why he feels as if this is his second or third visit there.

Pluck, patriotism, energy, loyalty, independence, and uncompromising revolt from moral priggishness and conventional sentiment are the national ideals of character which the English and the American Boy in Fiction stand for to-day. Gallegher, Lew and Jakin, Aldrich's Bad Boy, Tom Sawyer, Pony Baker, Harvey Cheyne, Dan Disko, and Stalky and Co., are not always conservative members of society and are often far from comfortable to live with; but, as varying as the degrees of social position, of opportunity and environment they represent, they are thoroughly human and national in their translation of life's obligations, their desire for life's adventures, their pursuit of life's pleasures, and in the energy with which they devote themselves, in turn, to each.

The importance of the Boy in Fiction may be estimated by the fact that authors who have written and who do write presumably for their peers can not elude his—is it fascination, or pugnacious assertiveness?—that other writers of unusual gifts of satire and characterization have reached their highest plane of achievement in him; and that he is the inspiration of one of the most remarkable creations of fiction. The York children, Clive, Crossjay Patterne, Kit, Johnnie Mortimer, Crayshaw, and Little Lord Fauntleroy are only scattered names of a list that might easily be extended far beyond the limits of this paper; Miss Daskam's "Little God and Dicky" is a complete and perfectly finished whole; and "Sentimental Tommy" is at once the Boy and the genius portrayed by genius. He and Dicky are sundered by age, gifts, class and nationality; one is strong, meat for his elders, the other the milk of babes and sucklings, but each one is irresistibly and inevitably a Boy.

The phraseology of the Boy in Fiction has changed as radically as the Boy has, and indicates as radical a change in literary form as in the moral idea, which is only another way of saying that this change is in the people who write about the boy, not in the real boy himself. If we may depend upon

oral tradition and all written tradition—except the Story for Children—he was very much then what he is now, and far, very far, removed from Miss Edgeworth's portrait of him:

There was a little boy whose name was Frank. He had a father and mother who were very kind to him; and he loved them; he liked to talk to them, he liked to walk with them, and he liked to be with them. He liked to do what they asked him to do; and he took care not to do what they desired him not to do. When his father or mother said to him, "Frank, shut the door," he ran directly and shut the door. When they said to him, "Frank, do not touch that knife," he took his hands away from the knife, and did not touch it. He was an obedient little boy.\*

Dicky, on the other hand, is not a portrait; he is the boy himself:

"Where are you going?" said somebody, as he slunk out toward the hat-rack.

"Oh, out," he returned, with what a vaudeville artist would call a good imitation of a person wishing to appear blamelessly forgetful of something he remembered quite distinctly.

"Well, see that you don't stay too long. Remember what it is this afternoon."

He turned like a stag at bay.

"*What* is it this afternoon?" he demanded viciously.

"You know very well."

"*What?*"

"See that you're here, that's all. You've got to get dressed."

"I will not go to that old dancing-school again, and I tell you that I won't, and I won't. And I won't!"

"Now, Dick, don't begin that all over again. It's so silly of you. You've got to go."

"Why?"

"Because it's the thing to do."

"Why?"

"Because you must learn to dance."

"Why?"

"Every nice boy learns."

"Why?" . . . . †

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\* "Frank," by Maria Edgeworth.

† "The Little God and Dicky," Josephine Dodge Daskam.

We can fancy how Frank would have hung his head and blushed for very shame of Dicky's manners and morals in the first moment of acquaintance, before Dicky had time and opportunity to make plain his taste for rats and bull-dogs, and his preference for dirt and scuffles to silk stockings, dancing, learning his lessons and listening to instructive conversation. As to Cecelia—but there are limits even to a riotous imagination.

The delicate humor, the light and finished touch of "The Little God and Dicky" floats like thistledown above the patiently studied mechanism of the Day and Edgeworth stories for children. To turn from them, from Dicky, to Frank and his congeners, is to turn from the boys as his elders once thought he should be to the boy as we know him to be. The difference between them is just the difference between moral theory and practical experience, between the real and the imitation. Dicky is a live boy down to the soles of his boots and the bottom of his heart. As for the other boy, he never lived outside of fiction, and there "dust to dust and ashes to ashes" has been chanted over his poor, tired little body.

## A FEAST DAY IN OLD ST. CLOUD

ROBERT SHACKLETON

An ancient custom in an ancient place; such is the Feast of the Gardeners in old St. Cloud; and the survival of an ancient custom gives as keen a sense of pleased gratification as does the viewing of ancient weapons, ancient household utensils, ancient homes. Indeed, one is apt to feel a rarer pleasure, on account of the touch of human life, of a humanity in common with the past.

"For hundreds of years," says the serene-faced priest, gently, "this festival has been observed; for six hundred—eight hundred—who can tell!" He waves his hands expressively. And distant music sounds in momently increasing clamor—a cheerful clamor, full of life and energy—and toward the open space in front of the church, from streets which twist and climb tortuously, people of the town begin to come.

The priest hastily gathers together some boys who are playing gleefully about, and sweeps them into a porch-entrance, and in a little while those boys will be scarlet-gowned, white-surpliced acolytes, sobered into transitory gravity.

Nearer comes the music, and around a sharp corner appears the head of the procession of the ancient Association of Gardeners. For this is the day of Saint Fiacre, their patron saint, and from farms for miles around the gardeners have gathered and are marching to the St. Cloud church. They have met at their customary mustering places, and with a service at the church are to begin their annual day of fête.

It is not only that it makes an interesting picture in itself, but that one's mind is carried back through many, many generations. The ancestors of some of these gardeners grew vegetables and flowers for Marie Antoinette; others added to the glory of the royal gardens of the greatest Louis, here at St. Cloud; toilers and delvers were unobtrusively gardening for the townsfolk and celebrating the fête in the year when Ivry

was fought; still further back, processions and feasts similar to those of to-day were held while Columbus was seeking for a passage to China, and even for centuries before.

The procession gaily rounds the corner. A drummer heads the line, and close behind him are the band—ten or a dozen young gardeners, briskly blowing on horns and trumpets and making an inspiring din. Following the band are boys in couples, bearing between them great panniers filled with *brioche*, a feathery and unsweetened kind of cake, piled in squares and circles and surmounted by bunched flowers.

Behind the boys and the panniered *brioche* comes a triumph of the gardener's skill, and the watching groups are quite breathless with admiration as the *chef-d'oeuvre* passes. It is a huge vase, made of close-cut flowers, woven and wrought into symmetrical designs and mainly in yellow and red. Doubtless there is a hidden sustaining frame, for the vase is over six feet high; but, being out of sight, it may well be out of mind. On a shield of purple are white-flowered initials of the Saint in whose honor the fête is held, "S. F."

The vase is slung upon poles, and is carried, a heavy load, by four strong men, and out of its top rises toweringly a waving mass of asparagus plumes, splendid hollyhocks, and the familiar goldenrod.

Behind the vase are little girls, with tiny bunches of flowers, and then, in a long line, and each moving with the brisk and nimble step called for by coercive drum and trumpet, come the gardeners, men and women, old and young. And the face of each is a shining beacon of happiness.

The greater number are well advanced in years, and there is a certain pathos in the fact. One's heart can not but swell a little at the sight of this ancient celebration, thus gaily carried down into the twentieth century; at the sight of the merry old faces and the sound of the merry marching music; but there is a sadness in it all. One feels that the twenty-first century will not see it thus; that the decline of the ancient custom has begun and that the end is almost in sight. And, indeed, the old folk, looking on, will tell you that "there were many more in the processions before the Prussian War"—a

period of stress from which France is still in various ways suffering.

But the momentary feeling of sadness passes, for it is a blithe and pleasant sight to see the gardeners march jocund on. All go two by two, and most go arm in arm—husband and wife, brother and sister, lover and sweetheart, friend with friend.

In the broad space before the church the paraders take on a yet braver aspect, a mien still more full of gay appreciation of the part they are playing in the public eye. And, withal, on the part of everyone, old and young, there is that complete absence of self-consciousness which is so pleasant a characteristic of the French when they are having a cheerful time.

There is time to look about for a few minutes while the gardeners are making their way slowly through the broad portal. Facing the church is a curious stone fragment, a section of wall and arch, ancient, half crumbled, half destroyed. Lines of beauty are still suggested; dignity indisputably remains; and you feel a sense of deep interest when you are told that—such being the received belief in the town—this was part of the monastery founded here some fourteen centuries ago by Saint Clodoald, grandson of Clovis, the Merovingian king; and the folk-lore of St. Cloud will also tell you that when certain grandsons of Clovis, after the monarch's death, were made prisoners by a claimant of the throne, and the widow of Clovis was asked whether she wished them to be slain or to become monks, for that one fate or the other they must surely meet, she chose death for them, whereupon all were slain but Clodoald, who was saved by a faithful retainer, and, becoming a churchman and abbot, founded the monastery about which the town (named, from him, St. Cloud) gradually arose.

The more credulous actually point to a mark in the pavement as being the veritable footprint of Saint Clodoald, and if this could be true it would be a miracle indeed, and would irrefragably establish the Saint's claim to especial sanctity, for people have trodden on the spot every day for all these centuries.

Of the church immediately preceding the dignified edifice

which now stands there, the townspeople love to tell that, long, long ago, the top of the spire demanded repair, but none could be found who was bold enough to scale the dizzy height and thus court almost certain death. And in the prison was a man who was to suffer execution, and to him the alternative was offered of dying under the axe or by steeplefall. It was a trifle better than an equally balanced alternative, indeed, for in the highly improbable contingency of his escaping from the steeple, he was to escape the other doom as well. And the trembling wretch grasped eagerly at the chance, and the story tells of how he went up and up, watched by the awed townspeople, who stood, concentric-circled, open-mouthed, and of how he safely descended, and, with a look of uncomprehending wonder on his face, walked unmolested away.

—But the gardeners are now in church, and the shuffle of many feet has ceased, and the choir breaks into a rhythmic chant. The monster vase has been deposited at the very altar rail, and on either side are the panniers of *brioche*, and a graceful young girl stands there for a time, holding a candle, lambent burning and tall. The church is decked with ferns, with ivy, with potted plants, and instead of musty odor, or that of incense, the building is cheerful with the mingled smell of flowers and *brioche*. The men are mostly in drawer-creased black; the women are in the unfrequent glory of their very best and probably inherited gowns, bright purple being the prevailing hue. And it is a little fact, but not unworthy of notice, that men and women alike have the broadened thumb that comes from years of pressing of the earth about flower-pots and bulbs and vegetables.

The sermon is especially for gardeners. The serene-faced priest tells them that God is the great gardener of the world, and that it is he who gives the sunshine and the rains, and he who designed the roses and the lilies and the homely vegetables and gave them to mankind.

The sermon over, there comes a burst of unexpected music—a sonorously solemn tune, played by the gardeners' band, stationed in an alcoved space beside the altar. Inside the church the drum is silent, but now, above the sound of horns

and trumpets, rises, distinct and clear, the strain of a piccolo, thin-voiced and sweet. The gardeners let a few notes go awry, but the general harmony is effective, and the people listen in pleased intentness. And, indeed, music ought to be loved well and played well here, for in this church Gounod, who lived for many years at the edge of St. Cloud, used often to play the organ at mass, and his memory is held in loving awe.

The panniers of *brioche* are now carried through the church, and every one takes a piece, and, after devoutly crossing himself, slowly eats; and the act of gustatory worship brings anew a smiling glow to every face. And the tall *Suisse*, appareled in blue and gold, and with gold-fringed hat, who, with great steel halberd in one hand and gold-topped mace in the other, has been standing and walking and thumping in front of the altar—the only man in church privileged to wear a hat—now takes himself and his dazzle of glory to a restful eclipse in a chair in an almost hidden nook, and with mace and halberd laid aside and cocked hat doffed, he leans comfortably back against the wall and seems to be a mere mortal like unto ourselves.

With seriousness the service ends, and then the gardeners' band, from its altar alcove, again breaks forth, as if irrepressibly, and this time the tune is so gay, so secular, so frolicsome, that every toe in the church tingles with an impulse toward terpsichorean friskiness.

With the great vase towering in the van the gardeners go out again into the bright sunlight, and in front of the church the line re-forms. "*Deux à deux*," says the leader quietly; and your thoughts are for a moment irresistibly carried homeward, and to the "*Doozydoo*" which has vigorously danced itself through every town and village in America, with a vim increasing with the increase of distance from France. "*Deux à deux*"—but the words are not needed, for it is always two by two that the gardeners march.

And now they thread the winding, hilly streets. First, along the ancient Rue de l'Eglise; and with this centuries-old procession before your eyes you can not but think of

the scenes which this aged town has witnessed. The buildings, indeed, are to a great extent comparatively new or comparatively restored, for the town has suffered destructive disasters, especially at the time of the Prussian War. There was then fierce fighting in and about St. Cloud, and hundreds of shells exploded among the streets and houses. But as several of the streets retain their ancient lines, and houses were rebuilt precisely where ancient houses stood, the town still preserves its antique aspect.

As the procession moves on, the groups of townspeople watch with an inward interest, but without outward and visible sign. When you come to know the St. Cloud folk you know that this is characteristic. They never suffer interest or approval to become apparent. The sense of having pleased them must live by faith alone. When the military band plays, yonder in the park, there is never a handclap, never a sound, never a murmur of applause. The people listen in expressionless but not forbidding silence; and in the same expressionless way they watch the ancient parade of the gardeners.

But those who know them know that they are secretly interested, secretly pleased. And as the procession moves on there comes out to behold it, benignantly, the wealthy citizen whom St. Cloud believes to be a son of Napoleon the Third. And another who comes forth to view these living representatives of the past is the old man who sells the past's inanimate representatives, ancient furniture; but he himself on many another day is a living exponent of ancient days, for he is the official town-crier of St. Cloud—the *tambour de ville*—and with a great drum he goes about the streets whenever the mayor wishes the townsfolk apprised of some order or notice, and, now halting on one corner, now on another, he solemnly beats his drum and then solemnly reads out his announcement.

The marchers reach the Rue Royale, a street bent and twisted as if with age, as it climbs the steep hill; and indeed it might well be so, for there are unmistakable signs of ancientness in its wavering and indented line. It is so ancient that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, and we may feel assured that when, before the Battle of Crécy, the Eng-

lish, as told in the gallant pages of Froissart, burned St. Cloud, on its height looking over at near-by Paris, the knights and men-at-arms of Edward the Third went up and down along the bending line now called the Rue Royale, although no house now standing can tell of such antiquity.

There is no intention on the part of the gardeners to march near places of especial note, and so it is quite by chance that their drummer and trumpeters lead them past the paved passage opening into the sombre court where Henry the Third was slain. The spot is unmarked, and even the court itself is never found by tourists, but the traditions of the townsfolk preserve the memory of the exact place.

The marchers turn into the broad avenue which leads by the barracks, and hundreds of soldiers stand at the windows or gather at the entrance of the drillyard and watch the gladsome procession. And next the gardeners drum and trumpet their way to the house of the mayor, who, stately and dignified, a man of great wealth, has been awaiting them; and they formally offer him *brioche*, and he eats it, and he speaks cordially to them and shakes the hands of as many of the women and the men who are not too shy and diffident to be greeted by him.

Then, more gay, more blithesome than ever, this semi-serious visit over, they march to the Park, the ancient Royal Park—and the great gates are swung wide, and in they bravely march, as a right, where of old their ancestors humbly entered on sufferance; and white-capped peasant women, endlessly knitting, glance at them, from benches of carven stone used of old by nobles and courtiers. Truly, the Fête of Saint Fiacre has witnessed the passing away of much that has seemed as solidly fixed as rock, and, looking at those peasant women in the seats of the mighty, one wonders what further changes will come before the Gardeners' Guild ceases to make its annual celebration.

Following the march comes a great dinner at a restaurant near the park, and then, with the early evening, after several hours of intermission, there begins the gardeners' ball. And numerous young gardeners, youths and maidens, too shame-

faced to march in the parade, in these days of change, are now among the happiest and most conspicuous.

Never at any ball did one dance more swiftly succeed another; never did musicians work harder; never were partners more gallantly sought out, more tirelessly spun about, than by these broad-thumbed men. Indeed, when one knows how uncourteous a saint was Saint Fiacre himself, it is diverting to see his fête day concluded with such gallant devotion; for Saint Fiacre would not even allow a woman to come near his home.

The worthy monk was an Irishman; one of those who, so many, many centuries ago, participated in that curiously interesting movement which sent forth from Ireland missionaries to Christianize the darkened Continent. Shortly after his arrival in France he was told that he might have for himself as much land as he could make a ditch around in a single day; and the Saint, with an acquisitive eye to a goodly possession, began to stride along, merely dragging his staff behind him, and a liberal ditch instantly appeared where the staff touched the earth.

The women of the neighborhood, who had gathered with the not unlaudable intent of seeing the excellent Saint dig, set up the cry of "Witchcraft!" whereupon, in high dudgeon, he declared that though he would "forgive" those guilty of so unamiable an aspersion, he would never allow any woman of Gaul to come near his monkish cell.

But no thoughts of the crusty grumness of their patron saint disturb these celebrators of the day of Saint Fiacre. The music grows more brisk, the dancers more frolicsome, the faces of the older folk, looking on, more full of happiness.

Midnight comes, but the merriment only increases; and the fête honors Saint Fiacre, with music and with dancing, till the coming of daylight.

## THE PACIFIC CABLE

The completion of the last link in the cable from San Francisco to the Philippine Islands is an epoch-making event in the history of the Pacific. Whether we view it from a political, a commercial, an educational, or a military point of view, it is an event of far-reaching importance. For nearly forty years we have had cable communications with our neighbors across the Atlantic, but the spanning of the Pacific was a much larger problem and the prospect of returns much less encouraging. It is true that more than thirty years ago Cyrus W. Field proposed doing for the Pacific what he had already done for the Atlantic; but the Government did not see fit to undertake the task, and private capital could not at that time afford to. The work was therefore reserved for a later generation.

For the link between Honolulu and San Francisco, the Hawaiian government has worked for nearly thirty years. As far back as 1874 it passed an act granting an exclusive franchise to any one who would undertake the work. But this did not offer a sufficient inducement and nothing was done. After waiting thirteen years for volunteers, another act was passed granting an exclusive franchise and a subsidy of \$20,000 a year for fifteen years. But still no volunteers. In 1890 still another act was passed granting an exclusive franchise and an annual subsidy of \$25,000 for fifteen years. But private capital was so timid that it could not be caught even with the alluring bait of an exclusive franchise and a subsidy. Not yet disheartened by its failures, the Hawaiian legislature passed an act in 1895 authorizing the president to enter into a cable contract with any corporation or individual guaranteeing "such financial and other assistance as might seem just to the Republic of Hawaii." In pursuance of this act, a franchise with a subsidy of \$40,000 a year was granted

to Col. Spaulding, but the franchise was forfeited in May, 1898.

Immediately following this forfeiture, the Hawaiian government entered into a contract with the Pacific Cable Company, which was organized by J. Pierpont Morgan and had had as its president Gen. J. M. Scrymser, for twenty years president of the Mexico, Central American, and South American Cable Companies. A capital of \$10,000,000 was procured for the building of a cable from California to Japan, to touch at Honolulu, Guam, and Manila. By the terms of the contract, they were granted an exclusive franchise for twenty years but no subsidy, and were to build the cable between California and Hawaii within two years and to Japan within three years of the date of the contract, July 2, 1898. Hawaiian dreams, which had been abundantly watered by legislation, seemed at last about to have reached fruition. But again they were destined to disappointment and delay—the contract required the approval of Secretary Hay, which was refused.

In our own congress the question had been frequently discussed, and as early as 1885 had been urged in a message from the President. In the fifty-second, fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth congresses, it was seriously discussed, though opinion was somewhat divided as to whether it should be built by the government or by a private company.

Yet the great importance of a Pacific cable was not felt in this country until we acquired possession of Hawaii and the Philippines. These acquisitions increased the necessity for a cable and revealed that necessity to the American people. They, also, together with the acquisition of Guam and Midway, paved the way for its construction as an American cable, as it was then possible to have a trans-Pacific cable touching upon American soil only.

In '85 President McKinley considered the matter of sufficient importance and urgency to send a special message to congress concerning it. In this message he said:

As a consequence of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, and its expected ratification by the Spanish Government,

the United States will come into possession of the Philippine Islands on the farther shores of the Pacific. The Hawaiian Islands and Guam becoming United States territory, and forming convenient stopping places on the way across the sea, the necessity for speedy cable communications between the United States and all these Pacific islands has become imperative. Such communication should be so established as to be wholly under the control of the United States, whether in peace or war. At present the Philippines can be reached only by cables which pass through many foreign countries, and the Hawaiian Islands and Guam can only be communicated with by steamers, involving delays in each instance of at least a week. The present condition should not be allowed to continue for a moment longer than is absolutely necessary.

The matter was discussed in the fifty-seventh congress, but very little was accomplished. Opinion was still divided as to whether the cable should be built by the government or by private enterprise.

On August 22, 1901, John W. Mackay cabled from London the following message to the Secretary of State:

I wish to lay and operate a submarine cable or cables from California to the Philippines by way of the Hawaiian Islands, by means of an American corporation to be organized hereafter. . . .

The same conditions that have been presented by the United States in connection with the landing of Atlantic cables owned by domestic corporations will be satisfactory to me in connection with this proposed enterprise.

As prompt and definite action was not taken upon this by congress, Mr. Mackay, as president of the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, organized in New York September, 1901, with a capital of \$100,000, determined to proceed under the law of 1866. He entered into a contract with the India-rubber, Gutta-percha, and Telegraph Works Company (Limited), of Silvertown, England, for the construction and laying of the section from San Francisco to Honolulu, and a second contract with the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, for constructing and laying a cable from Honolulu to Manila via Midway and Guam, where repeating stations were to be located. Had he lived a year longer he would have been per-

mitted to see the world enriched by the completion of his magnificent plan; but he died in July, 1902.

On December 4, of the same year, application was made to the President for permission to land the eastern end of the cable at San Francisco. The President gave permission, attaching to it conditions which are in substance as follows:

(1) That said company has not received any exclusive concession or privilege and is not combined with any company or concern to exclude any company or concern formed in the United States from obtaining the privilege of landing its cables or for regulating rates.

(2) That said company's cable shall touch at no other than American territory on the way from the United States to the Chinese Empire. A line from the Philippines to China shall be constructed by said company within one year and operated independently of all foreign companies and concerns.

(3) Rates to be reasonable and in no case in excess of those set forth in House Document 568, 1st Session, Fifty-seventh Congress.

(4) United States Government officials to have priority over all other business in use of cable and at rates fixed by the Postmaster-General annually.

(5) The United States shall at all times have the right to purchase the cable line property, and effects of said company at an appraised value to be ascertained by disinterested persons, two to be selected by the Postmaster-General, two by the company or concern, and the fifth by the four so previously selected.

(6) That the United States shall have authority to assume full control of said cable during war (including grave civil disturbance), or when war is threatened.

(7) Contracts with foreign governments canceled during war at discretion of this Government.

(8) Branches may be severed during war.

(9) Operators and employees of said company (above grade of unskilled labor), after said cable shall have been laid shall be exclusively American citizens, if the same can be obtained.

(11) A speed of 25 words a minute from California to Luzon must be provided.

(17) Consent to terms and conditions may be modified or revoked by Congress.

Company to have access to soundings, profiles, and other helpful data in possession of Navy Department.

On December 15, 1902, at about half a mile from the Cliff

House, the cable was spliced to the shore in the presence of 50,000 spectators.

The cable ship, Silvertown, now steamed westward with a burden of 2,300 miles of cable, and after a stormy voyage reached Honolulu in safety. By January 1, 1903, America and Hawaii were brought for the first time within hailing distance of each other. During the first day of its operation, 9,000 words of congratulation were cabled free of charge between Honolulu and San Francisco.

The rates fixed between Honolulu and San Francisco are: 50 cents a word for the first two years, after that 35 cents a word. Press dispatches are given a special rate of 20 cents a word.

The remaining sections were laid by the steamships *Anglia* and *Colonia* without serious accident, and in less than schedule time. The distance from Honolulu to Midway is 1,160 miles; Midway to Guam 2,280; Guam to Manila 1,372, which added to the 2,100 miles from San Francisco to Honolulu gives a total distance of 6,912 miles.

The route was surveyed by the Navy Department, the soundings between Honolulu and Luzon being taken by the ship *Nero*. These soundings located the deepest known hole in the ocean and also the second deepest. They are both between Midway and Guam. "Nero Deep" is 5,269 fathoms, and the other which has not yet been named, although it received its baptism some time ago, is 5,160 fathoms in depth.

The cable averages  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter and consists of one main conducting copper wire .098 inch in diameter, this is wound in ten small copper wires .0415 inch in diameter. The insulation consists of three coats of gutta-percha .432 inch thick. The cable weighs nearly half a ton to the mile, except at the shore ends, where it is three inches in diameter and weighs about 27 tons to the mile.

At the completion of so great a work it is fitting that we take a brief glance backward as well as forward. Hitherto telegraphic communication between Washington and Manila has been over the following slow, expensive, and uncertain route:

Washington to New York by land; to Valencia, Ireland, by cable; to Brighton, England, by cable and land; to Havre by cable; to Marseille by land; to Alexandria by cable; to Suez by land; to Bombay by cable; to Madras by land; to Singapore by cable; to Saigon by cable; to Hong-kong by cable; to Manila by cable,—necessitating 14 transmissions.

The cost by this route was \$2.25 a word, while over the Pacific cable it will be but \$1.00 a word. In government messages along this will mean a saving of more than \$200,000 a year, besides the immense advantages of more rapid communication, and in case of war, of communication by a cable entirely under American jurisdiction and control. In the case of Hawaii the improvement is even more pronounced; for previous to connection by means of this cable there were no cable connections with those islands and it took one week to get word to or from them.

It is as the herald of our commercial conquest of the Orient that the cable has its greatest significance. It comes at an opportune time, at a time when the nations of the Orient look with favor upon America and American goods. It gives to us an additional and substantial advantage in our competition for the \$1,200,000,000 trade of the countries lying upon the western shore of the Pacific.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE SPRINGFIELD *Republican* thinks Mr. Roosevelt "is the crudest character that ever was President of the United States."

Really, this is very hard on a son of Harvard; and it has already been suggested that he succeed Dr. Elliot as president of Harvard University. Will not the *Republican* then be sorry that it called him "crude"?

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A WRITER in the London *Chronicle* thinks there was nothing in the Kishineff massacre more disquieting than were the details of the Delaware lynching. He insists that if the United States does not bring the lynchers to justice, a protest should be entered by the civilized nations of Europe.

This makes unpleasant reading for Americans, but it is true, nevertheless. Why should not civilized nations protest against such barbarism, especially when we make no serious effort to punish the lynchers?

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IN A RECENT address, Dr. Crum, the recently appointed collector of customs at Charleston, South Carolina, practically justified negro lynching. It is commendable that Dr. Crum should try to approve of the white people of the South, but it would be more to his credit if he would do it in a somewhat better way than by giving public endorsement to one of the worst forms of outlawry. The best that can be said for lynching is that it is the result of suddenly aroused passion; but to defend mob lynching in an address to a public audience is in itself evidence of a low conception of human rights and social order, and, worst of all, when it comes from an office-holding negro, whose own race is the victim of the outrage. If Dr. Crum could not, with safety, publicly condemn the lynching of members of his race, he ought in decency to have kept silent, but in justifying lynching he put himself a little below the lynchers.

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THOSE ANTI-TRUST prophets, who have so eagerly predicted the failure of the steel "trust," are, for the present at least,

doomed to disappointment. The record of this concern for the quarter ending June shows that the business and earnings are still close up to high water mark. The earnings of the quarter were \$36,499,528, as compared with \$37,662,058 for the corresponding quarter last year. This enables the company to pay its required dividend on profits and four per cent. on the common stock. The unfilled orders on hand are nearly as large as they were a year ago. This shows a very wholesome state of business. It is the largest concern in the world and represents the most important industry. There can be no better sign of stable business conditions than the prosperity of the iron and steel industry, and it should be remembered that this is not due to an artificial putting up of prices; but, on the contrary, it is accounted for by a wholesome tendency toward cheaper iron and steel products.

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IN HIS ascension proclamation, King Peter of Servia made clear to the world that, if he was not a party to the wholesale murder of the royal family, he willingly accepted the fruits of the crime and entertained the most sentiments of the murderers. While little can be said in behalf of Alexander's reign, the method of putting Peter on the throne should receive an effectual rebuke from every nation that calls itself civilized. Every nation that has a representative to the court of Servia before renewing diplomatic relations should insist upon the proper punishment of the murderers; otherwise it is practically sanctioning the Servian methods of disposing of dynasties. Revolutions may occur, and are sometimes justified, but cold-blooded murder of a whole dynasty by the leader of an army is not revolution. It is not the expression of democracy or the demands of better government. It is simply brutal butchering that ought not to be tolerated anywhere within the pale of civilization. If such methods are recognized, then stable government and orderly political methods are in danger. If such a performance is to be sanctioned in Servia, they may find encouragement anywhere. In the interest of stable institutions, those who made Peter king should pay the penalty on the gallows.

THOSE WHO PREDICTED that Mr. Chamberlain committed political suicide by advocating a discriminating tariff between England and her colonies were a little premature. The decision of the Balfour cabinet to treat the Chamberlain proposition as an open question worth investigating, has started a lively protection movement in England. Of course, it is not called protection, indeed, as may be expected, it is being called a movement for "freer trade," a demand for investigation, etc. But by whatever name it is being taken up by the great London dailies, *The London Daily Express* is openly advocating the project. Protection has given the United States a freer trade than it ever could have secured under the Cobden policy, by giving protection to the markets of the United States, American manufacturers have enjoyed a greater freedom of trade and many times greater volume of trade and altogether larger markets than they would have obtained for decades or even for centuries without protection. Of course it sounds a little more plausible to the English ear to call any desirable changes of policies a movement for "freer trade;" but the name is of little significance, the fact is the same whatever it is called. Englishmen are slow to change their theories, but they are loath to lose their trade, as Mr. Chamberlain has more than once pointed out.

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THE LONDON *Daily Telegraph* is also inclining to Chamberlain's policy. In a recent issue, it devoted several columns to the investigation of the subject of "freer trade and better trade." It shows from British trade that England is losing by foreign tariffs forty million pounds a year, and that there is a trade that may be recoverable by preferential duties amounting to one hundred million pounds a year, and from imports from the colonies and from other countries to ninety million pounds a year. It goes into an analysis of the French Méline Tariff of 1892. It shows that this tariff which, "upon every calculation of the Cobden Club would have ruined the French export of manufactures," has greatly increased the export of manufactures. To verify this statement it gives the figures before and after the Méline tariff. As another side of this movement an

immense meeting of the Unionist members has been held to consider the policy outlined by Chamberlain, and some 150 members signed the requisition for a conference on the subject. At this meeting, while it was spoken of as an investigation, the arguments presented were practically all in favor of adopting the Chamberlain idea of imposing discriminating duties on foreign products. In justification of this, American experience was freely quoted. Instead of America following England in its industrial policies, England is being compelled to follow American policies.

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THE BRILLIANCE of the Hanna wedding furnishes *Harper's Weekly* a text for a preaching on "Symptoms of a Social Class," to the great delight of the Boston *Herald*.

According to these journals, we are becoming very monarchical in our manners, and it is all due to the Republican party. Says *Harper's*:

It has been the aim of the Republican party of late years to breed and maintain a class interest, and, in turn, it has depended for its political fortunes on that interest. This class, starting from the foundations, became rich, and was then ambitious of splendor. The war with Spain, the terror with which we inspired the monarchical continent of Europe, gave to this class new impulses, encouraged half-concealed desires, bred a love of splendor in its members; and so we have a new uniform for the army, precedence for civilians, and a politico-social life which is a reminder of the ways of Mother England.

And all this because the wedding of Mr. Hanna's daughter was really a gay affair. Pray, what would these people have a wedding be? Would they have it a day of mourning, and have all dress in their poorest clothes, and act as if they were doing penance for some crime? Such fustian is mere make-believe. Neither the writer nor owners of these journals believe anything of the kind. They were merry when they were married, and if they did not have a gay time it was because they couldn't. This has been the habit of the race since society began, and a very good habit, too. This crying down of social functions as monarchical and dangerous to freedom

is the cheapest of demagogic froth. Then to charge it to the Republican party is the limit of political femininity.

The truth is, social functions are among the most efficient desire-creating forces of modern society. They stimulate new wants, educate the social taste and manners, diversify the demands and broaden the life of the people, which is the very basis of industrial expansion and national growth. Prohibit the social function, and you can arrest the progress of society.

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ACCORDING to the Boston *Herald*, the United Mine Workers of Pennsylvania are objecting to the recent law passed by the Pennsylvania legislature, forbidding the employment in the mines of minors under 16 years of age. If this be true, it is a disgrace to the Mine Workers' organization. The harrowing details presented to the company by the miners regarding the condition of working children, if only half true, fully justifies the legislature in passing such a law. If the corporations were objecting to the child labor law, we might expect that the miners would be crying aloud against the inhumanity of a corporation. The secret of this opposition is the fact that the children are not employed by the corporation, but by the miners. When the miners become employers they can give the corporations pointers for meanness. Nor is this peculiar to Pennsylvania; it is practically the same wherever similar conditions prevail. It only more clearly proves the necessity for society taking a hand in determining the conditions under which laborers, especially women and children, should be permitted to work. In the South the corporations object to child labor laws because the corporation employs the children. In Pennsylvania the miners object to similar humane legislation because the miners are the employers. If neither the corporations nor the miners have sufficient interest in the welfare and the opportunities for the education and future improvement of the children in the factories and mines of the country, society has, and the Pennsylvania legislature has proved itself superior to the miners in passing such a wholesome and humane law. If we are to have intelligent citizenship in this country, the children must be conducted from brutalizing labor

conditions, and insure opportunities for educational and personal improvement, despite the opposition of the employers, whether they be the rich corporation or the ignorant miner.

OF COURSE, Mr. Bryan had to find some reason why the Iowa Democrats did not re-affirm the Kansas City platform, and he has discovered that it was not due to any change in public sentiment, but to the influence of the corporations. To Mr. Bryan the corporations are the acme of evil. Anything that goes wrong, which he can not explain, is charged to the corporations. If the corn crop in Nebraska should fail, it is probably charged to the corporations. But it is unfortunate for Mr. Bryan's reasoning that somehow or other, although everything is being controlled by corporations, the country is still prospering. He predicted that if the party of the corporation was permitted to govern in 1896, the price of wheat would fall, the farmer would be ruined, industry would fail, and chaos generally would prevail. None of these things came to pass. Wheat went to a dollar a bushel, and has remained above seventy cents ever since. In fact, agricultural prices have been high and live stock has never brought such high prices as during the last few years. The farmers never made so much money. Manufacturers never were so prosperous and laborers were never better off. Now, if all these things are the result of corporations, may there be more. The truth is, if Mr. Bryan would only admit it, it is not due to the corporations at all, but to the common sense of the people. None of Mr. Bryan's predictions came true, and the people know it. The gold standard has not ruined the country, and hubbub about monopoly has so far proved to be but political wind, and the people are becoming indifferent. True, the people are easily frightened, but they can not be frightened every year and every month by the same Bryan boss. If Bryan wants to get up a scare, he must manufacture a new ghost. The Kansas City platform is no longer a word to conjure with. The simple truth is that the great bulk of people have outlived their faith in the Kansas City platform.

KAISER WILHELM and Edward VII appear to be vying with each other in showing friendliness to the United States. They both declare that they love us. They probably do. The secret of their good feeling is the success and growing strength of the United States. Everybody respects the successful and the strong. England, Germany, and, for that matter, all the great commercial countries, desires friendship with the United States, not because we are better than other people, but because we have the best market in the world. We have made more industrial progress and therefore have grown rich faster than any other country. This gives us two attractive features: strength, whenever we are called upon to use it, either in our own behalf or in the aid of others; and the capacity for great purchases of the best products of the world. All this is due to our industrial progress. If we wish to keep in the foreground of the nations and exercise a wholesome influence on civilization and have the friendly interest of the great powers, we have only to attend to the affairs of our industrial expansion. It is not by increasing our army and enlarging our navy, though these may do well enough, that our prestige is to be maintained and increased, but it is by increasing our national prosperity. This can not be done by playing shuttlecock with the tariff or making any grand-stand performance by disrupting large corporations. On the contrary, our prosperity in the future must come in substantially the same way that it has come in the past, by protecting, encouraging and caring for American industry. If it be irrigation in the West, if it be improvement of our banking and monetary system to increase the funds that may be loaned to the farmer at easier rates of interest, or if it be by affording adequate protection to competing industries, it is all in the line of improvement in conditions of home industry. That is the secret of American greatness. It is the secret of our prosperity at home and respect abroad. The true American policy is to continue in the same direction.

## QUESTION BOX

### Have We a Right to Rebuke Russia?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Russia could not, perhaps, in the circumstances, have given us official notice that she would resent any protest from us as to the Kishineff massacre as intermeddling with her internal affairs; but she gave us an authoritative, though unofficial, intimation to that effect. Should not this have been sufficient to stop us from offering to send the protest? Could the sending of such a protest accomplish anything beyond expressing our sentiment, which the world already knew, and insulting a country that has taken every opportunity to show a remarkable friendship for us?

M. L.

No country having diplomatic relations with others can justly tolerate within its borders wholesale massacre for religious opinion. Any such country is properly subject to the criticism of any nation with which it seeks political relations. Turkey has been criticized, and even coerced by the European powers for just what has occurred in Russia. The only difference being that in Turkey the victims were nominally Christians, while in Russia they were Jews. When the Christians were murdered in China, an allied army was promptly dispatched to that country and the "internal affairs" idea was promptly disposed of. The right of Turkey and of China to have absolute control of their internal affairs was modified by the principles of civilization, that people should not be murdered for political opinions in any country. If China and Turkey may not massacre for political opinion, then why may Russia? But the petition would not have been an interference with the internal affairs of Russia. It is simply an appeal to the Tsar to investigate this horrible tragedy. The petition is justified on the general belief that the Tsar is not fully informed, and that the facts are carefully kept from him.

The fact that Russia knows the fairness of this country is not at all the same as sending the petition. Russia knows the fairness of England regarding this matter, but she can officially ignore her acts as if England's sentiments were in her favor, because the criticism has no formal expression. It is time that Russia was brought to the bar of civilization. She ought not to be permitted to extend her power in any direction

until she is willing to guarantee the common freedom of religious opinion.

The talk of Russia's friendship for this country is much over done. Russia has no real friendship for this country nor for any republic. She is the farther removed from real friendship for democratic institutions than any other country of Europe. The only friendship she has for us is when it may serve her purpose to snub some other country.

It has been said that Russia might retort that we should protect the negroes from lynching. It might be an excellent thing if Russia, and all Europe for that matter, protested against such barbarity as is practised in this country. We ought to be ashamed of it. Such a criticism by the whole world might do much to bring us to realize our position. If we can not prevent mob law and have the right of trial by a jury, we are not entitled to the respect of civilized nations.

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### How to Protect American Shipping.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In the newspaper discussion of the apparently unfavorable condition of Mr. Morgan's shipping combination, frequent reference is made to the loss of British subsidies on several of the vessels of that concern. Does not this call attention very sharply to the deplorable condition of our own merchant marine, since it again thrusts upon our consideration the fact that many of our ship owners still prefer a foreign flag over their vessels? What would you suggest as the best means for the protection of American shipping, so that we might have our own ships as we have our own railways and manufacturers?

J. S.

The best means to protect American shipping is, of course, to give protection to all who ship in American bottoms. The only reason American shippers prefer foreign vessels is that they find it to their financial advantage. There is no sentiment in importing or exporting merchandise. Our people are patriotic enough in a general way, but when it comes to business they are for dollars and cents. We would have practically no manufacturers in this country, for the same reason that we have no American shipping, had we not protected the opportunities for manufacturing and made it more advan-

tageous to manufacture at home than to import. The same principle that transferred the advantage to the American side in manufacture would do it in shipping.

All that seems really necessary to accomplish this is to apply the protective principle in the same manner as it was applied to manufacturing; namely, increase the duty, say ten per cent., on all goods brought to this country in foreign vessels, or in vessels carrying a foreign flag. This has many advantages over any system of subsidy. Subsidy works unevenly under the best system that has yet been devised, or perhaps that could be devised. A great deal of favoritism is likely to occur. Another objection to the subsidy system is that it is the payment of money out of the treasury, and the greater the success of the system, the more it depletes the treasury. This is an objection because it seems at least as if the people were putting their hands in their pockets in the form of paying taxes to the treasury in order to pay bounty. The discriminating duty method has the reverse effect. The more successful it is, the less duty will be paid, and the more merchandise shipped in American bottoms, and whatever is paid is paid by the importer and not by the people as subsidy taxes.

It is not at all sure that the duty would be added to the price. In all probability it would make no difference in the price. The importers in American bottoms would be the real foreign competitor in the American market, and those who pay the duty would have to compete with the others and thus pay the extra duty out of their profits. It is easy to see that, unless there was some real advantage in doing this, it would not long continue. At first it might add a fraction, perhaps one or two per cent., to the price of the product, but all the influence of the seven or eight per cent. would be toward transferring the trade to American ships.

The building of ships can easily be left to the free action of capital. If there is a demand for ships they will be built, but if there is no demand they will not be built, but will disappear as they have done. Moreover, it was the method of the early days of the republic, when we had a strong marine; and the only way we shall be likely to get it, for generations

to come, at least, is by encouraging the use of American vessels, which can be done only by making it more profitable to ship in American than in foreign bottoms.

### Useless Antagonism of Labor.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In a recent case in Springfield, Mass., a large manufacturing establishment closed its doors and notified its employes that all who desired to resume work with the company should communicate with the superintendent. This action was taken to put a stop to the organization of a labor union in the factory, which has always been a non-union shop. Does not such action, which denies to labor the right of organization, have a tendency to estrange and arouse the working people; and will it not also tend to mark more clearly the line of conflict between labor and capital?

S. T.

Most certainly. This is the policy most of all to be deprecated. This is the calling out the spirit of the Parry and Kirby movement. By whatever name it may be called, it is war upon the rights of the laborer to organize. It may be said that these employers have a right to close down their establishments, and they have a right to engage only non-union labor. Certainly they have, and they have a right to go through bankruptcy; but the laborers have an equal right to act in exactly the opposite direction, and this they are pretty sure to do. A man has a right to try to walk across the rapids of Niagara, but he will be swept down with the current for his folly.

Whatever may be said of the technical right of the manufacturer, it is consummate folly to pursue the policy of the Springfield establishment referred to. It is inviting controversy and struggle and industrial disturbances with the certainty that sooner or later organization will prevail. The employer who acts in this way shows as great a lack of business sense and of the appreciation of the trend of affairs as the most wrong-headed, pugnacious, ill-informed labor leader. Industrial affairs, like all others, obey certain natural laws. They move in the line of least resistance or of the greatest efficiency. The wise employer, like the wise laborer, will try to ascertain the direction of a tendency and put himself in line

with it. Those who insist upon running counter to the inevitable tendency of things may get a brief satisfaction out of the fact that they are annoying somebody, but they are sure ultimately to pay for their folly. If this country is to keep the lead in industrial progress, employers as well as laborers will have to adjust themselves to the inevitable law of economic organization.

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### Should Attorneys Be Bonded?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Would not the judiciary be improved and purified if attorneys-at-law were bonded? J. E.

It is difficult to see what would be gained by putting attorneys-at-law under bond. The law is very strict everywhere regarding the integrity of members of the bar. They are treated as a part of the court. For any dishonest treatment of clients, or participation in dishonest efforts, the attorney may be disbarred, and a disbarred lawyer in one state is prohibited from practising in any other. It would be difficult to make the penalty more severe.

As a matter of fact, this country does not suffer much from a corrupt judiciary. Sometimes we find incompetent judges on the bench, but this is more largely due to the methods of selection than to the safeguards against dishonesty. It too often happens, especially where judges are elected by popular vote, that the nomination is a reward for political services rather than for legal equipment. This, however, is more a matter of poor politics than low morality. If higher standard of proficiency for the judiciary was demanded by the public, that is to say, if only lawyers who had proved their ability could receive nominations for the judgeship, the standard of our judiciary would be raised and respected and the courts improved; but no amount of bonding attorneys would accomplish this. To put a fool under bonds would not make him a wise man. On the whole, our courts and the legal profession are not dishonest. The chief criticism is that they are too political.

## BOOK REVIEWS

HEREDITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By Simon N. Patten. Cloth; 214 pages. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1903.

The relation of heredity to social progress is one of the important problems in sociology. How to create new and higher traits of character and convert them into permanent qualities, and thus make a net addition to the character of the race, is the very essence of social science. With this established, we should have a scientific basis for the direction of industrial activities, social reforms and national statesmanship. This is the task the author has set himself in the present work. Professor Patten is one of the most suggestive economists in the United States. He seldom indulges in the commonplace, and he never lacks courage to present his latest views or deductions.

In many respects the present book is the best piece of work of the kind that the author has done. In his opening chapter he lays out his task in a very clear and direct manner. He lays down two propositions: first, that all social progress results from the creation of a social surplus; second, that social surplus leads to the development of acquired characters. The true method of progress is to make acquired characters permanent.

He begins by explaining that in his direct struggle with nature man soon encounters what economists call "the law of diminishing returns;" that is to say, nature tends to yield a diminishing amount of product for a given amount of energy. In order, therefore, to have a social surplus, man must devise means of production that shall make nature yield more instead of less.

"Since the natural surplus falls off," says Mr. Patten, "it can not be a source of social progress. Men must meet new conditions under more disadvantageous conditions, or they must create a social surplus which more than balances the increasing natural deficit." In other words, through the applica-

tion of science we must increase productivity at a greater ratio than it is decreased by the law of diminishing returns.

But, says our author, even with social surplus progress is not safe. The surplus is always in perishable goods, which must be periodically replaced. If all that society gains from them is the pleasure of their consumption, the presence of a surplus may create prosperity, give an immediate relief from toil, and add much to the fund of current enjoyment; but in the end the periodic replacement of the surplus ceases through the diminution of its resources. To make progress secure, the temporary surplus must be transformed into permanent conditions or into mental traits. If this transformation is not possible, all progress is temporary; if it is possible, then the process of its transformation becomes the key to social progress. . . . The situation, then, is this: The natural surplus is steadily decreasing, or at best it merely holds its own; the social surplus is the result of conscious effort, which must so arouse mental traits that natural decreasing returns become socially increasing returns. How, then, is the social surplus, the temporary product of annual effort, transformed into mental traits that abide and become the basis of subsequent progress?

This is the question that Professor Patten has written a book to answer. He proceeds to establish a parallelism between economics and biology. There is always danger in relying upon parallel principles in different sciences. In the last analysis, the only safe induction is the verification of the principle in a given field by the phenomena of that field. The social organism is in no such sense patterned after the physical organism. Hobbes, Spencer, and many others have erred in this. Social laws must be established by social phenomena alone.

Professor Patten presents the theory that the first condition of progress is a social surplus; that is, the surplus of well-being in society; that this surplus creates new energies and develops acquired characters, and that these acquired characters seek new environment more suitable to their needs, and thus raise the plane of social life. But he denies that acquired characters are transmitted through heredity, and insists that they must be maintained by new social surplus created by the conscious effort of society. The means of doing this is education in all lines of higher social endeavor.

The case is well reasoned, but it seems to lack the point

of practical initiation. What is the starting point; what creates the social surplus? Unless this is answered the method of progress is incomplete. If the social surplus is the result of conscious effort, then there must be a motive for the effort. Motives come only from experience with environment; new experiences give new motives, suggest new efforts either for defense, resistance, or retreat; but the motive for action always arises out of some experience with environment. Varied experience, then, is necessary to increased activity and the creation of a social surplus. Therefore, while social surplus is necessary, in order to have a scientific method by which this can be consciously promoted, we must recognize the anterior fact that a variety of experiences is the real background to a consciously created social surplus. Hence, all educational efforts, all social reforms, and statesmanship, should be directed to diversifying the environment and thereby varying the experience of society as the initial means of creating desire.

Professor Patten seems to go farther than is necessary, or than facts warrant, in denying that acquired characteristics are transmitted through heredity. He says: "If the acquired characters were inherited, the great mass of social customs, habits, and traditions would be unnecessary." Not at all. Acquired characters are not inherited *en masse*. Habits are not transmitted, but they become such a strong force in society that, little by little, they create a characteristic tendency. If this were not so, all children of all races would be alike at birth in social capacity as well as in physical organism. Professor Patten says:

When, for example, a bricklayer has improved his condition by the acquired characters of his occupation, and has, as a consequence, bettered the position of his children, they tend to become clerks and mechanics; the sons of mechanics become storekeepers, foremen and superintendents, while the children of farmers become business men, lawyers and clergymen. It is well known that the children of any class move into the class above them when the economic welfare of parents is so improved that children have more food, shelter, and leisure.

Yes; but it is equally well known that the position of bricklayers and carpenters improves from generation to generation.

Many of the children of weavers remain weavers, and shoemakers remain shoemakers. Indeed, the majority in many industries do this. Their improved condition does not necessarily come by moving to new environments, but more frequently by changing their environments to suit their new standard of living; and so the children of one generation are born with some increased capacity, both to be influenced by the environment and to modify it still farther.

Professor Patten is right in saying: "The vital point in all progress is the creation of a social surplus." He might have added that the initial point of all progress is the diversification of environment that shall create a discontent and necessity for efforts that make a social surplus possible. The author is entirely right, however, in not encouraging a reliance upon heredity. Progress chiefly comes from the stimulus created by variation in the environment, which is another name for education and social experience.

The real force that makes for social surplus, converts it into character and permanently establishes it in civilization, is the social institution. The philosophy of progress is the philosophy of so adapting social institutions to the stimulus of wants and activities as to produce economic and social diversification. Society can not alter the human organism, but it can and does alter the social environment. To know how to do this scientifically is the essence of social philosophy.

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PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDUSTRY. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. 8vo, cloth; 279 pages. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.

This is a very able work, from the socialistic point of view. Mr. Webb and his wife are Fabian socialists of the most dangerous kind,—dangerous, not by their extravagance, but by their studied conservatism. More than any writer in England or this country, Sidney Webb has made socialism plausible. The present work is a bolder contribution to the socialist doctrine than any of his previous ones. His "History of Trade Unionism," for instance, was comparatively free from socialistic announcement. In this work he has come nearer

verging on the extravagant and irrational than anything before published. In describing the tendency of industry in the United States towards capitalistic monopoly, he says : \*

Thus, the rulers of the great capitalist corporations are, within the industrial sphere, really able to do what they like with their own. When all the employers in a single industry from California to Maine combine into a single corporation, this leviathan is, indeed, perhaps the most perfect example of freedom that the world has ever seen. In the employment of labor, especially of a low grade, such a giant corporation may impose very nearly whatever conditions it chooses. Its power of "disciplining" any recalcitrant hand, or even a whole community, is terribly potent. It can shut down here and build up there, without let or hindrance. It can maintain whatever brutalizing or deteriorating conditions of labor that it thinks profitable to itself; it can disregard with impunity all precautions against disease or accident; it can exact whatever degree of speed at work it pleases; it can, in short, dispose of the lives of its myriads of workers exactly as it does those of its horses.

This clearly indicates that Mr. Webb is losing his capacity for subtle, rational treatment of the subject. It discredits his judgment and reflects upon his capacity to observe the obvious tendency of things. To be sure, there is a great movement in this country toward large corporations; but there is no more probability of a single leviathan controlling all the industries of the country than there is of Sidney Webb being king of England. Nothing points in that direction. Labor here is organizing with as much energy as is capital, and public opinion is so on the alert against anything like leviathanian schemes that it is periodically in a panic against corporations. As well might Sidney Webb predict that the United States will be added to the British empire in 1910, as that all the employers in one industry from California to Maine will combine in a single corporation that will have power to maintain whatever brutalizing or deteriorating conditions of labor that it thinks profitable to itself.

There may be a revolution, there may be the most arbitrary and repressive legislation the world ever heard of, there may be a disruption of the industry of the republic; but no corpora-

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\* Page 19 of Introduction.

tion can arise that will be able to exercise any such repressive and enslaving power as is here described. All the forces, political, social, and economic, are against any such thing. That the object of Mr. Webb's book is to replace the present society by a reign of socialism is clearly set forth on page 259, thus:

What we socialists are aiming at is not to secure this or that reform, still less to put this or that party into power, but to convert the great mass of the English people to our own views. We are trying to satisfy the ordinary man, not merely that most of the existing arrangements of society are fundamentally defective—for on that point the great majority have always been most painfully convinced—but also that the main principle of reform must be the substitution of Collective Ownership and Control for Individual Private Property in the means of production.

For many years the Fabians shrank from any such bold announcement of socialistic doctrine. They even pretended not to accept the doctrines of Karl Marx, but assumed the role of reformers, insisting that every improvement of society would lead to the higher and proper social state, whatever that might be. They even objected to the radical socialist idea that piece-meal reform was a mistake, because it postponed the day of the "grand revolution" by making the present social order more tolerable. But at last Mr. Webb has arrived at the same position and declares with the most radical disruptionists.

Mr. Webb is too sensible to advocate or endorse the idea of accomplishing the "grand revolution" by establishing socialist colonies and so demonstrate the superiority of socialism. He believes in converting the trade union, which naturally is a strictly economic institution, into a machine for socialist propaganda. In short, his method is to convert the labor movement into a socialist movement, and so make organized labor an army for the overthrow of existing industrial society.

This book is a specimen of the best methods that socialists are employing to inspire and organize the laboring classes against modern society, and nothing more clearly shows the need of a rational, broad-minded attitude of the laboring class toward the labor movement, even in its erratic and irrational conduct. Every attempt to stamp out the labor movement by

arbitrary force is a contribution to the propaganda of socialism, and tends to justify such writing as is presented by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

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THE PROOFS OF LIFE AFTER DEATH. A Twentieth Century Symposium, arranged under the several heads of Science, Psychical Research, Philosophy, and Spiritualism; with a special contribution on Immortality from new standpoints. Compiled and edited by Robert J. Thompson. Price, \$2.00. Robert J. Thompson, publisher, Chicago.

This book is exactly what its compiler represents it to be—a collection of selected opinions of well-known men upon the world-old question of the immortality of the soul. It is rather too much to assert, as the author does in his title and introduction, that these ephemeral opinions are “proofs of life after death.” After reading this batch of opinions, the question must still remain where science and philosophy, and even spiritualists and the psychical researchers have left it—absolutely undecided.

The occasion of the book was the death of a brother of the author. A letter was addressed to “A Number of Eminent Men in America, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia”, asking for their opinions upon immortality. The following sentence expresses the purpose: “It is our desire to obtain from thinkers and educators of the world an expression—a twentieth century bulletin on this subject”; and, to quote Mr. Browning, “this he asked, and this he got—nothing more.”

The opinions in the book are divided among scientists, psychical researchers, philosophers, and spiritualists. The lines are not closely drawn, and Professor Wallace and Camille Flammarion, Sir William Crookes, and Mr. W. T. Stead, find themselves within the pale of spiritualism. Among the philosophers are William Jennings Bryan, our late and persistent candidate for the presidency, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and Stanley Waterloo. But in the introductory matter to the philosophical section, the compiler explains this largeness of inclusion by saying “all men are philosophers”. The scientists quoted in the volume are more in their class, although we find

such names as Bishop H. C. Potter of New York, several doctors of medicine, small college professors, and, of course, Camille Flammarion. The psychical researchers include Professor J. H. Hyslop, the Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, and Andrew Lang, the cheerful and satirical essayist. Professor N. S. Shaler, of Harvard University, gives what may be considered the summing up of the bulk of opinions of this remarkable book: "Thus we may fairly conjecture that we may be on the verge of something like a demonstration that the individual consciousness does survive the death of the body by which it was nurtured."

Dr. Cesare Lombroso thinks that there is some probability of immortality, and, of course, Camille Flammarion and Bishop Potter and all the clergymen and psychical researchers are confident of it. The opinions of priests really amount to nothing in a symposium of this kind, as they must assert immortality or abandon their profession. The only thing that counts in this, as in all other discussions, is facts; or, in their absence, logical and sane reasoning.

The scientific point of view is probably best stated by Dr. A. Eulenberg, who says, "I think we hitherto are not aware of a single fact or argument, objectively and scientifically proving or even favoring individual immortality; whilst, on the contrary, there exists no fact or argument absolutely refuting and excluding that hypothesis". This position is the position of Huxley, and of Haeckel, of Spencer, and of all scientific thinkers who refuse to commit themselves to belief in the unknowable. It is the clear position of agnosticism.

As might have been expected, the most elaborate and flowing expressions of opinion on this most difficult subject come from the psychical researchers and from the pseudo-scientist, pseudo-spiritualist, and pseudo-everything, Camille Flammarion.

We can not agree with the author in the belief that one who reads the book will close it "with the conviction of knowledge that there is a Life after Death". If that is his belief before reading these marvelous opinions of this marvelous group of thinkers, he will still manage to retain his faith; but if he is

skeptical, or agnostic, he will probably remain unshaken by this "twentieth century bulletin" on immortality.

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THE NEW EMPIRE. By Brooks Adams. Cloth; 236 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

In this book Mr. Adams sets out to establish the theory that civilization follows the ownership of the precious metals. This task, of course, involves a review of the history of civilization, ancient and modern. Whether the author proves his point or not, he has certainly made a fascinating book. Few writers can put a century into a sentence with such facility and plausibility as Brooks Adams. If the reader can not see the author's point, he can always enjoy his company and be edified and often educated by his attractive marshaling of the milestones of public advancement. He makes interesting that which in the hands of most writers would be dull and tedious.

Mr. Adams shows quite conclusively that economic success everywhere has controlled political movements and decided the seat of civilization. Whether trade has been conducted by caravans, ships, or railways, wealth, power, and civilization have followed trade and commerce. But when he endeavors, as he occasionally does, to tag it all on to the ownership of the precious metals, he is neither as strong or plausible; indeed, in almost every instance, it is a manifest wrench, a little like the effort to lift one's self by one's boot straps.

An excellent feature of the book is the chronological appendix of important events from 4000 B. C. to 1900. It is an able and instructive book, which none can read without profit.

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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A THIEF. Recorded by Hutchins Hapgood. Cloth; 349 pages. \$1.25. Fox, Duffield & Co., New York.

The charm of this book, like that of many similar works—some of Defoe's for instance—is the impression of genuineness that it makes upon the reader. It is interesting chiefly because we fancy it to be true. Probably the most unconvincing part of the book is the final appeal for assistance by "Jim," upon the ground that he has reformed completely and wants an

honest job. Even here, however, a true note is struck in the thief's frank renunciation of any claim that may be made for him that he has any religious feeling. He scorns the idea that he has reformed "by finding Jesus at the end of a gas-pipe" with which he was about to assault a citizen in order to "finger his long green." But even with this sincere note, we must somehow doubt that "Jim" is really looking for an honest job. We really like him better as the honest thief, rather than as a sentimental one, a half-reformed citizen who has adopted the motto of "honesty the best policy"—a principle that continues to fill the jails.

Although the under-world of crime had been visited and charted by many master navigators, Mr. Hapgood has succeeded in making what is perhaps the most vivid and alluring portrayal of that dolorous region. He has chosen well in preserving as far as possible the very flavor of the language of the world he writes about. This constitutes one of the essential features of his work.

Yet even this book has its "purpose." "Jim" felt aggrieved by certain arrangements in the penitentiary, or "stir," and wanted to write a book about it; and Mr. Hapgood has set a thief to catch—not a thief, but the catchers and persecutors of thieves. This purpose serves, however, to give new interest to descriptions of jails and the daily life of the prisoners.

"Jim" brings out the literary side of prison life, which most persons have not hitherto conceived as existing. "Opium led me to books," he says simply. But we should not offer this as an ideal motto for young minds. Effects, indeed, are very different from the same cause. Opium led De Quincey to beautiful dreams and visions, while it leads an uneducated thief in a New York jail to philosophy and to studies of Shakspere, Huxley, Tyndall, and Lavater. These studies ultimately resulted in making his mind wholesome and clean. Shakspere and Walt Whitman are his favorite authors. He says of Whitman: "The best soother I had was the most beautiful poem in the English language—Walt Whitman's 'Ode to Death.'" Although Whitman is thus brought into sharp com-

petition; as a "soother," with opium, there is no doubt that the good, gray poet would have keenly appreciated this glowing tribute from one of his "free and flowing savages." His literary labors seem to have led him even to Young's "Night Thoughts," or at least to poetic quotations or anthologies, for his last bit of wisdom is cribbed from one of Young's nocturnal ideas. "Some men," Mr. Hapgood makes him say, "acquire wisdom at twenty-one, others at thirty-five, and some never." Young says (we quote from memory):

"At thirty man suspects himself a fool;  
Knows it at forty and reforms his plan;  
At fifty, chides his infamous delay,  
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve  
In all the magnanimity of thought;  
Resolves and re-resolves, then dies the same."

But "Jim," who has profited by picking Young's pocket, is able to put the thought more succinctly.

This book, although manifestly made piecemeal, is as powerful and as charming as a continuous narrative, and it can not be put down when once taken up. Its hold upon the imagination is sustained to the very end. It is a permanent piece of work, for which both the author and the publishers are to be congratulated.

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#### NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

##### *Barnes' New Histories of the United States:*

*Elementary History.* Cloth; 360 pages, with maps and illustrations. Price, 60 cents.

*Pure Sociology.* By Tester F. Ward. Cloth; 575 pages; \$4.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*A History of American Political Theories.* By C. Edward Merriam, Ph.D. 348 pages; \$1.50. The Macmillan Company, New York.

*School History.* Half-leather; 432 pages, with maps and illustrations. Price, \$1.00. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

## CURRENT COMMENT

### Death of

Pope

### Leo XIII

Emphatically the papacy has been strengthened in his long reign; and the papacy is a fact that always has in it the potentiality of great power.

From "the scientific standpoint" the papacy seems an anachronism, but that is the standpoint of very few of the myriads of men who follow any branch of the Christian faith. The spiritual strength of the Church of Rome lies in the unhesitating readiness with which it replies to the questions that trouble the soul of man. It answers "Yes" or "No"; not "perhaps" or "possibly." Its voice is that of authority, and the Pope is the head of the Church of Rome. Macaulay's vision of the New Zealander who shall find London ruined and the papacy flourishing was no mere rhetoric, but was founded on knowledge of how earnestly and at the same time skilfully the Church of Rome addresses itself to the "complaining millions of men" to whom "the scientific faith" brings no comfort.—*Boston Transcript*.

None of the valiant old men of his generation—neither Gladstone nor Bismarck—made such a wonderful impression as has the latest of the Popes. It may indeed be doubted if any of those who had before worn what Dante calls the *gran manto* of the papacy ever succeeded in captivating the imagination of the civilized world in the way of Leo the aged. At ninety he was able to astonish even a Frenchman, the painter, Benjamin Constant, by the brilliancy of his intellect. Yet with serene poise and strength he pressed on for three years more to his jubilee, retaining for twenty-five years that papal power which, it was supposed, was given for only a short period to a feeble old man in 1878. Leo XIII's tenacity and vigor in old age make one credit the stories about that other strenuous nonagenarian of Italy, Dandolo.—*New York Evening Post*.

It is, upon the whole, a figure at once mild and majestic which Leo XIII will present to the eye of the historian. The singularly untoward circumstances amid which he entered upon his functions might well excite compassion, but the manner in which he has played his part can not but challenge admiration, even the secular onlookers. It was reserved for him, as it had been for scarcely any other Bishop of Rome since Hildebrand, to demonstrate the tremendous power of resistance, the elasticity and ductility that seem inherent in the Catholic Church.—*New York Sun*.

Among keen-sighted statesmen Leo has held his own, and this has been no simple task, for no age ever before developed greater leaders. Bismarck honored him with his friendship, and Gladstone was a warm admirer. He did not waste his strength in proselyting, but did all that, and more, by winning our hearts. Republicans will not forget that he read the age and comprehended that despotic government had gone forever. "Christian republicanism," he said "is the future; it will not be unfriendly to the Church. Cultivate it." His vision was broad enough to see over hereditary prejudgetments. But, better yet, he understood the separation of church and state. He wrote wisely to his bishops that they should always sustain legitimate governments. He has not set himself against all investigation; he has encouraged study and modern methods of research.—*The Independent.*

The voice of Leo XIII has always been for noblest charity. His influence has always been for peace and human kindness. He abhorred tyranny, persecution, greed, and violence. He hated injustice and oppression. His influence was ever exerted for good. Believing himself to be the Vicar of Christ upon earth, he spontaneously imitated and expounded every virtue that Christ taught. Amid the splendors of the Vatican, he personally lived the life of the most humble and obscure ascetic. Tempted by visions of earthly glory and power, he kept the simple path.—*Washington Post.*

He enhanced the moral sovereignty of the Papacy to a degree unknown for many a reign, and, inflexible as he was in doctrine, he made on the whole for the advancement of many of those practical principles for which the Reformation was begun. In creed he was immovable, but in political and social practice he led the church in the same path that, as we believed, the whole was and is pursuing, and it will be by no means the least or the least worthy of his distinctions that he, perhaps above any of his predecessors, kept himself in touch with the world and in sympathy with its great movements, and was thus not only the chief pontiff of a great church, but also one of the chief citizens of the world.—*New York Tribune.*

**Lynchings** Every man who takes part in the burning or  
**North and** lynchng of a negro is a murderer, and should  
**South** be so considered in the eyes of the law. Although it is always given in defense of such actions that what are known to lawyers as extenuating circumstances lessen to a considerable degree the gravity of the offense, it is my opinion

that no circumstances whatever can change the classification of the crime to anything else but murder. The man who takes part in the burning of a negro, no matter how atrocious was the latter's conduct, is guilty of this crime. In the South the lynching of a negro who has committed an assault on a white girl is considered proper and just, as is the summary shooting of a man who calls you a liar to your face. In neither case do I consider the circumstances extenuating in the least. The crime can be called nothing else than murder.—*Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court.*

The trouble about the lynching business, as *The Constitution* has often pointed out, is that it has gone beyond "the usual crime" and is now looked upon more as a matter of economy than vengeance. The argument too often accepted by the incipient mob is that "we have got the right fellow and we know he is guilty; let's string him up and save the expense of feeding him and trying him perhaps some years to come!"

It seems plain now to everybody with a grain of common sense that the cure for lynching must be two-fashioned. It must first apply itself to driving it into the heads of the negroes that the raping of white women must be stopped. If the negro leaders have not power to convince their race of that necessity, it will be hard for the whites to apply the other part of the cure—protection for the accused and swift, fair trial of his case.—*Atlanta Constitution.*

Criminal assaults upon women are not the only or the main cause of lynching. In 1902 the lynchings in the United States numbered 96. Of the victims, 19 were accused of criminal assault and 11 of attempted criminal assault—together less than a third of the whole number. The other 66 were charged with murder (37), attempting murder (4), accessory to murder (3), and with offenses such as larceny, accessory to larceny, horse stealing, planning an elopement, "conjuring," making threats and ordinary assault. "Race prejudice" and "mistaken identity" also figure in the list.—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

The significance of this act of lawlessness, by which a mob inflicted a punishment the statutes of the state does not allow, lies in the fact that there was not the slightest need of going beyond the machinery of the law to be assured that White's crime would meet with its well-merited penalty. Wilmington is no village in a wilderness, but a city of fully eighty thousand inhabitants, with all the usual machinery for maintaining law and order. It is the capital of the most populous county of

Delaware, a prosperous place, a well-kept city whose people have long considered themselves the state. Had this lynching occurred in some remote western or southern border town, we should not be surprised, for there people are isolated, and their isolation removes them from the humanizing touch of the larger public opinion, and at the same time impresses them with an acute sense of their own danger from wandering criminals; but all the conditions that are cited to excuse lynching in the South and West are absent in this particular case.—*Boston Transcript*.

The difference between race troubles in the South and in the North is that when lynchings and other forms of violence, as a rule, occur in the South they are directed against the individual criminal or criminals, while it has come to pass in Mr. Crumpacker's state that outbreaks against the negro as a race are of frequent occurrence, as for instance, the Evansville riots, and appear to be based almost wholly on race prejudice in the most violent and intolerable form.—*Birmingham (Ala.) News*.

Our whole civilization is threatened. It is not alone the community where an outbreak occurs which suffers. Toleration of the evil in one place prompts imitation in others, until law is everywhere brought into contempt. The mania spreads, and the lynchers become more and more reckless. Those who at first would be stirred only to lynch some fiendish wretch soon find it easy to put violent hands on anybody who offends them, and thus this becomes a government, not of settled law, but of capricious passions. Better a few lawns strewn with the bodies of a hundred "representative citizens" than the destruction of our historic "ordered liberty."—*New York Tribune*.

**"Peonage" in the South** The peonage trials at Montgomery, Ala., show that slavery still exists in several Southern states. More than that, the testimony before the grand jury shows that whites as well as blacks are, under the peonage system, subjected to abuses that make this slavery of the twentieth century almost as inhuman and repulsive as the slavery forty years ago. The trials have been held before Judge Thomas G. Jones, a native of Alabama, a former Confederate officer, and a some-time governor of the state. The grand jury is composed of Southern men who represent the best citizens of Alabama, and has needed no urging to return indictments against the accused. In two cases, at least, men

indicted have pleaded guilty to the charges and have been sentenced by the court.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

The best sentiment of the South is resolved against peonage. Bitterly has the South suffered the curse of slavery. Great is the price it has paid for redemption. The peonage planters are a very small minority in the South. It is true that they are acting under color of law; true that justices of the peace and local policemen have helped them to enslave American citizens. But it is also true that it is the voice of the South which, in the person of Judge Thomas G. Jones, of Alabama, has declared this law to be as palpable a violation of the constitution, both of the state and of the union of states, as it is of the principles of liberty and humanity.—*The Outlook*.

**The Postal Scandals** The president has a glorious ideal to live up to. The heroic knight-errant of politics, the ever-insistent and flaming preacher of civic purity, must not disappoint his millions of admirers in just the crisis when his trusty blade is expected to flash most vigorously and ruthlessly against the cohorts of graft and corruption. If he fails to exhibit the fiery zeal which has marked him as the prophet of the strenuous life, there will be those who will interpret his weakness as due to fear. "This man wants to be president again," people will say; "he dare not make enemies by exposing the whole truth."—*Springfield Republican*.

This is not a matter with us of Republicanism or of Democracy. It is a matter of facts. The facts relate in the instances given to Republicanism because Republicanism is in power—and is responsible. We have denounced offenses at least as bad committed under Democracy; but Democracy is not in this case and Republicanism is, and Mr. Roosevelt is at the head of the federal government. Therefore others' investigation is his, for him, through him, virtually by him. He alone can heat it or chill it, spur it or rein it in. Hence we have recurred to his record as an investigator in the past, to emphasize his duty as an investigator in the present.

He is absolutely honest. In many things he has shown himself to be absolutely fearless. He can be thorough. Thoroughness is called for now. We are not calling for vindictiveness or injustice. They are showy and taking, but they are capable of shielding favorites behind violence to non-favorites or to hostiles. Thoroughness is justice. Justice is alone required. Justice will not be mistaken. No counterfeit of it is possible.—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

The exposure of all the wrongdoers may harm individual Republicans, but it will enormously strengthen the party as a whole. Today the Republican administration is held responsible for this huge tissue of fraud, and nothing but a complete housecleaning can restore public confidence. The time for half-way work, for drawing the line at September, 1901, or March, 1897, or any other such date, has long since passed.

. . . The public knows little about the statute of limitations, and cares less. What it wishes to learn is not legal technicalities, but the names of the men who broke its laws and looted its treasury. If their crimes are now outlawed by time, the public will regret the fact that the rascals shall not enjoy their deserts behind prison bars; but disappointment on this score will make it no less eager to get at the records of its own servants, so that it may deal wisely with them when they again ask for its confidence.—*New York Evening Post*.

**Russia in Manchuria** Russia can not very well ignore the United States at this juncture. It costs but little, and that little is simple fairness, to hold the friendship of the United States. As this country has no plans to carry out that will awaken a rivalry at a point where Russia is interested, the United States must be regarded by Russia, as by all old world countries, as a nation that can be held in friendly relations without the sacrifice of any reasonable right, and with all the profit that comes from having a powerful friend when one is needed. There are reasons why Russia may be suspicious of other monarchies of Europe. Necessity compels those countries to have schemes afoot that are always possible threats of Russia's progress. With the United States it is wholly different. The American has no desire to encroach on the territory or the privileges of any other nation. In spite of the limited interests we have in the Orient, we are nevertheless isolated by our location, as well as by our desires.—*Pittsburg Times*.

The English assumption that the United States must necessarily join Great Britain and Japan in coercive measures against Russia in Manchuria is ridiculous. It is unwarranted by existing conditions or by anything that is likely to occur in Manchuria. It is unwarranted by anything that occurred in the intervention of the allied powers in China or by the negotiations that followed the rescue of the legations and the capture and occupation of Peking. If there are chestnuts in the fire, they are not ours. We have no cause for war with Russia, and there is no reason why we should be associated in any way with powers seeking war with Russia.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

England is exasperated and Japan so possessed with fury that she can hardly be restrained from carnage; but why should England and Japan commit the overt act of hostility when, after all, the United States is the chief victim of Russian duplicity and hate? Is it not obvious that we should lay that sword across her wicked path? To be sure, England and Japan are furious with indignation, but that is only because of their unselfish interest in us. Russia has not done anything to them. They are all right. What makes their gorge rise is Russia's ill-treatment of their dear friend, the United States, and what astounds them to the point of frenzy is our pusillanimous endurance of the insult. So it is, "Sick 'em, Sam!" "Jump on 'em, Sam!" "We'll hold your coat and hat for you, be sure of that!"—*Washington Post*.

**Railway Statistics** On June 30, 1902, the total single-track railway mileage in the United States was 202,-  
**for the Past Year** 471.85 miles, this mileage having increased during the year 5,234.41 miles, this increase being greater than that for any other year since 1890.

Including tracks of all kinds, the aggregate length of railway mileage was 274,195.36 miles, which was classified as follows: Single track, 200,154.56 miles; second track, 13,720.72 miles; third track, 1,204.04 miles; fourth track, 895.11 miles, and yard track and sidings, 58,220.93 miles. From these figures it is noted that there was an increase of 8,843.07 miles in the aggregate length of all tracks.

The number of the railway corporations included in the report was 2,037.

On June 30, 1902, there were 41,228 locomotives in the service of the railways, which was 1,644 more than were in use in 1901. Of the total number of locomotives, 10,318 are classed as passenger locomotives, 23,594 as freight locomotives, and 6,683 as switching locomotives.

The total number of cars of all classes in the service of the railways on the same date was 1,640,220, there having been an increase of 89,387 in rolling stock of this class. Of the total number of cars, 36,991 are assigned to the passenger service, 1,546,132 to the freight service, and 57,097 to the direct service of the railways.

The amount of railway capital outstanding on June 30, 1902, was \$12,134,182,964. This amount, on a mileage basis, represents a capitalization of \$62,301 per mile of line. Of the total capital stated, \$6,024,201,295 existed in the form of stock, of which \$4,722,056,120 was common stock and \$1,302,145,175 preferred stock. The amount which existed in the form of

funded debt was \$6,109,981,669. This amount comprised the following items: Mortgage bonds, \$5,213,421,911; miscellaneous obligations, \$564,794,588; income bonds, \$242,556,745, and equipment trust obligations, \$89,208,425. The amount of current liabilities which is not included in the foregoing figures, was \$648,176,194, or \$3,328 per mile of line.

The amount of capital stock paying no dividends was \$2,686,556,614, or 44.60 per cent. of the total amount outstanding. Omitting equipment trust obligations, the amount of funded debt which paid no interest was \$294,175,243. Of the stock-paying dividends, 8.36 per cent. of the total amount outstanding paid from 1 to 4 per cent., 13.48 per cent. paid from 4 to 5 per cent., 10.24 per cent. paid from 5 to 6 per cent., 12.78 per cent. paid from 6 to 7 per cent., and 5.54 per cent. paid from 7 to 8 per cent. The amount of dividends declared during the year was \$185,391,655, which is equivalent to a dividend of 5.55 per cent. on the amount of stock on which some dividend was declared. The amount of dividends declared in 1901 was \$156,735,784.

The number of passengers carried during the year ending June 30, 1902, was 649,878,505, showing an increase for the year of \$42,600,384.

The number of tons of freight carried during the year was 1,200,315,787, an increase of 111,089,347 being shown.

For the year ending June 30, 1902, the gross earnings from the operation of the railroads in the United States, arising from the operation of 200,154.56 miles of line, were \$1,726,380,267, being \$137,854,230 more than for 1901. The operating expenses were \$1,116,248,747, having increased in comparison with the year preceding \$85,851,477. Gross earnings from operation per mile of line were \$502 more than for the year ending June 30, 1901, being \$8,625.

The total number of casualties to persons on account of railway accidents, as shown for the year ending June 30, 1902, was 73,250, the number of persons killed having been 8,588 and the number injured 64,662. Of railway employes, 2,969 were killed and 50,524 were injured.

**Colombian View of the Canal** The conditions as they exist today place Colombia in the position of the owner of a bridge, over which an immense traffic is constantly passing. There are many steamship lines converging on the ports of Panamá and Colón that load and unload there enormous quantities of merchandise in transit, while large numbers of passengers are compelled to stop at both ends of the

trans-Isthmian railroad. All such patronage is very valuable to the Isthmus; and, being terminals, both ports have naturally considerable importance. Such will not be the case when the canal is opened. Steamers will go through as rapidly as possible, the passengers dreading the unhealthy climate. There will be no loading or unloading of cargoes; the ports will no longer be terminals, nor perhaps even coaling stations, and they will not have anything else to place on board but the scanty products of their own immediate neighborhood. . . .

The only gain with regard to trade—and even that is problematical—might be for a strip of land some three hundred miles long and fifty miles wide, situated on the Pacific coast. The productions of that region, entirely tropical and chiefly consisting of chocolate, have already good markets in Chile and on the western coast of the United States, and it remains to be demonstrated that the freight rates through the canal would be low enough to enable the chocolate planters of the Colombian Pacific coast to compete with the Venezuelan product on the Atlantic side. In any case, that narrow Pacific region is the only portion of Colombian territory that could derive advantage from the canal. Every country in the world would be a gainer rather than Colombia. What the Colombians would like to do about the canal would be to have their country hold a permanent interest in the enterprise as a partner of the United States, deriving an income that would benefit not a few officials and one political party, but all the people for generations to come.—*Raúl Pérez* in *North American Review*.

**Current Price Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates :

	June 21, 1902	May 21, 1903	July 22, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (dbl. 196 lbs.)..	\$3.95	\$4.10	\$4.50
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel).....	80 $\frac{5}{8}$	83 $\frac{7}{8}$	80 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	69	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 $\frac{1}{4}$
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	46 $\frac{1}{4}$	38	40 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	19.00	18.00	16.50
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	22.50	19.00	19.50
Coffee, Rio No 7 (lb.).....	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sugar, Granulat. 1, Standard (lb.)...	4 $\frac{6}{100}$	4 $\frac{6}{100}$	5
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	22 $\frac{1}{4}$	22	20
Cheese, State, f. c., small fancy (lb.)	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{15}{100}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
Print Cloths (yard).....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.).....		5 $\frac{65}{100}$	5 $\frac{65}{100}$
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)...	7 $\frac{85}{100}$	8 $\frac{55}{100}$	8 $\frac{55}{100}$
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	12 $\frac{5}{4}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

	June 21, 1902	May 21, 1903	July 22, 1903
	24½	24½	24
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....			
Iron, No. 1 North foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	21.00	21.00	18.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	20.50	20.75	17.75
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) .....	28.62½	29.65	27.50
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.).....	12.00	15.00	13.50
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.).....	4.12½	4.37½	4.30
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20)....	4.35	4.15	4.15
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.).....	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)	2.05	2.00	2.00
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)....	—	5.10	5.40
Fine silver (per ounce).....	—	54½	54½
Bullion value silver dollar.....	—	.5080	.4125
Ratio gold to silver .....	—	1:31½	1:40.49

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 July	1899 July	1900 July	1901 July	1902 July	1903 July
Wheat, No. 2 red N.Y. (bush.)	.94	.81½	.90½	.80½	.92½	.84½
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.35½	.34½	.44½	.58½	.88	.51
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.38½	.41½	.52½	.62½	.73	.58½
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.26	.25	.24½	.39	.56	.40½
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.48½	.60	.58	.57	.61½	.50
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.50	13.00	12.50	15.00	17.50	13.50
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	3.00	3.00	1.75	1.75	2.50	3.25
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.12	.16	.14	.18	.26	.23
Wool, xx, washed, N. Y. (lb.)	.30	.29	.36	.27	.27½	.31
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.28	.26½	.29	—	.25½	.29
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.17½	4.70	5.55	6.35	8.75	6.10
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y. (lbs.)	.18½	.18½	.20	.19	.21½	.20½
" Elgin	.17½	.18	.19	.20	.21½	.20
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.14	.16½	.17	.13	.20½	.19½
" " St. Louis (doz.)	.09	.10	.09½	.09	.14½	.13
Cheese, Sept. col'd. N. Y.	.07½	.09½	.09½	.09½	.10½	.10½
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.08½	.10½	.10½	.11½	.11½	.12

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Jan. 1 1893.	July 1 1898.	July 1 1899.	July 1 1900.	July 1 1901.	July 1 1902.	July 1 1903.
Breadstuffs ...	\$15 750	12.783	13.483	14.898	14.904	20.534	17.473
Meats .....	9 315	7.694	7.988	8.906	9.430	11.628	9 269
Dairy, garden .	15.290	9.437	10.974	10.901	11.030	12.557	13 083
Other foods ...	9 595	8 826	9.157	9.482	9.086	8.748	9 186
Clothing .....	13 900	14.663	15.021	16.324	15.098	15.533	17.136
Metals .....	15.985	11.843	16.635	14.834	15.344	16.084	16.544
Miscellaneous..	14.320	12.522	12.060	16.070	16.617	16.826	16.765
Total .....	\$94 155	77.768	85.227	91.415	91.509	101.910	99.456

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	June 19 1903.	July 17, 1903.
Average, 60 railway .....	102.99	103.03	94.56	90.64
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	57.11	54.00
" 5 city traction, etc. .	137.37	130.45	122.40	116.70

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing June 19 1903	Prices July 17 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	116 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	118 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	—	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	112 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
International Paper (pref.).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	—	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
N. Y. Central R. R. ....	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	147	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	118 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania R. R. ....	170	147	126	121 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ph. & Reading R. R. (1st pf.)....	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
Southern Pacific Ry. ....	81	56	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Rubber .....	—	—	—	12
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	48
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
" " (pref.) .....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	79	80	77 $\frac{1}{2}$
Western Union Tel. ....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	July 5, 1902			June 12, 1903			July 11, 1903		
	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.						
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)....	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0	6 10 0	6 10 0	6 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 10 10	2 22 0	2 22 0	2 22 0	2 22 0	2 22 0	2 12 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 12 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 12 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Copper .....	68 2 6	62 5 0	62 5 0	62 5 0	62 5 0	62 5 0	50 13 7	50 13 7	50 13 7
Tin, Straits .....	129 0 0	137 0 0	137 0 0	137 0 0	137 0 0	137 0 0	123 10 0	123 10 0	123 10 0
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14 x 20) ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.).....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs)	12 12 6	11 10 9	11 10 9	11 10 9	11 11 3	11 11 3	11 11 3	11 11 3	11 11 3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) .....	0 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$					
Petroleum (gallon) .....	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$						

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.86 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)



## THE UNCONQUERABLE SOUL

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Out of the night that covers me,  
Black as the pit from pole to pole,  
I thank whatever gods may be  
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance  
I have not winced or cried aloud,  
Under the bludgeonings of chance  
My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears  
Looms but the horror of the shade.  
And yet the menace of the years  
Finds and shall find me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,  
How charged with punishment the scroll;  
I am the master of my fate;  
I am the captain of my soul.

— *William E. Henley.*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## RACE SOCIAL EQUALITY.

The attitude of the white people toward the negroes in the South is very much misunderstood in both the Eastern and Western states. The spirit of American institutions is freedom: not merely freedom from slavery, but democratic freedom,—the freedom that implies political and social equality, which gives to everyone the same standing and the same protection.

The Southern people accept the most democratic idea of the American principle of freedom of the white race, but they draw an impassable line between the white and the negro. Of course this distinction, in this country at least, had its origin in slavery. Slaves nowhere have either property, political, or social equality with freemen. This is not peculiar to the Southern states. Subject races have nowhere had equal rights and recognition with free races. All colored races are not subject races; that is to say, they are not all under slavery; but wherever the two races exist together, and all are freemen, the white race always governs. Nor is there anything surprising in this; it is simply in accordance with the law of natural selection. For the same reason that the fittest survive, in the long run the superior governs. But the race problem in the South is more acute than in many other places, or perhaps any other place. The conditions there have been exceptional. For generations and centuries the condition of the negro and white man was that of slave and master.

As a measure of military expediency, slavery was abolished January 1, 1863. On the 20th of February, 1868, the fifteenth amendment to the constitution was passed, adding the fran-

chise to emancipation. Thus within five years the negroes were transformed from a body of four million slaves into free voting citizens. This was an abnormal and altogether revolutionary proceeding, the like of which had never occurred in any other country. The war was followed by a period of reconstruction which, in certain senses, was more exasperating, because more wanton and unjust, than the war.

Whatever the bad effects of the war upon the South, it was of their own making. They fired upon Fort Sumter, called their men, young and old, to arms, and entered the conflict with the knowledge that they must take the consequences of defeat if they were beaten, as they would get the fruits of victory if they won. But reconstruction was conducted under a régime of peace where the conquerors governed. To say nothing of the scandalous political conduct amounting to social and industrial, as well as political, outrage, the negroes were encouraged to make a mess of their newly acquired freedom. Many of the whites were disfranchised; those who had taken part in the war were not permitted to hold office. In many states negroes seized the offices, and in some instances controlled the legislatures. Ignorance, rapacity, and political debauchery were rampant. In these circumstances, the white people, besides feeling the mortification of their position, very naturally acquired a dislike for the negroes that they had not experienced in the days of slavery. To have the slaves thus become their political masters intensified the situation to an indescribable degree.

When the states were readmitted to the union and restored to their political rights, it is not at all unnatural that the white people should show, not merely an animosity toward the negro, but an absolute determination not to be governed by him. He had been enfranchised by the same process by which they had been defeated, and during the reconstruction period this feeling became a determination not to let the negroes participate in the government. Regardless of the fifteenth amendment giving the negroes the right to vote, the white people throughout the Southern states determined that they should not vote, or at least that they should not exercise any political power. In

the Northern and Eastern states this seemed like a defiance of the constitution and a determination to nullify "the results of the war," and produced an antagonistic feeling in the Union states that was a direct antithesis of the feeling in the Southern states. It is easy to see that, in these circumstances, each section misunderstood and misinterpreted the other. The East insisted that the South was rebel still and must be treated accordingly, and the South insisted that the Yankees were bent on their destruction, and accordingly treated them as enemies, and the more the Yankees defended the right of equality (and sometimes it almost seemed the superiority) of the negroes, the more the South deprived the latter of their political rights.

The North has all the time considered the negro question from the point of view of the social as well as political and industrial equality of the two races. This only served to emphasize the determination in the South not to permit race equality. The attitude of the North (not of the uninformed, but of the most intelligent) has been essentially wrong on this matter, because it has failed to recognize fitness as a prerequisite to equality. The South, on the other hand, has insisted that it knew how to treat the negro because it has had the negro for more than two centuries; but here the South was somewhat in error. It is entirely true that the Southern people who, for generations, have been born and bred among the negroes, know more about their characteristics and how personally to get along with them very much better than do the people of New England whose only knowledge of the negroes has come through newspapers, books, and abstract ideas. The fact that the Northerners insisted upon race equality in all respects, caused the Southern people to deny it in any respect; one extreme begot another.

But there is, and always has been, behind the Southern attitude toward the negro, one element of essential truth, and that is the foundation element in the race question from the Southern viewpoint, namely, the Southern idea of social equality of the races. Much of the race antagonism represented by Senator Tillman is indeed prejudice and political stock in trade, but behind all that there is an opposition to social equality be-

tween the races that is not prejudice but is sound social principle.

There is no sound sociologic or economic foundation for objecting to industrial equality; that is to say, the equality of opportunity for all, regardless of race, to have the fruits of their labor, to own and use property and acquire wealth as the result of industrial skill and enterprise. Every individual, whether negro, Caucasian, Mongolian, or Malay, is better and makes better the community in which he lives in proportion as he develops the industrial ability to produce and acquire wealth and become a consumer in the community. Nor in doing so does he in the least injure either the industrial, political, or social status, or opportunity, of any other race; on the contrary, he contributes to the improvement of the whole, just in proportion as he accomplishes the improvement in his own industrial condition. There is no sound reason why, with a rational basis for the franchise, there should be any discrimination against races. The ignorant foreigner, or the ignorant mountaineer, is no better material for a voting citizen than is the ignorant negro. Economic and personal fitness should be a qualification for the franchise, and that is as necessary for whites as for blacks. The nation or the state is no more likely to suffer from the votes of an intelligent property-owning negro than from a similarly intelligent property-owning white man. It is the low, ignorant, and intolerant, of whatever race or color, that should be excluded from participation in government.

But with social equality the case is quite different. Social equality means the mixing of the races in their homes and in their social life, the natural outcome of which is intermarrying and mixing of blood. To this the white people object, and on all the grounds of race preservation, of sociological advancement, and of civilization, they are justified. It is as important to prevent the deterioration of the superior race by the infusion of negro blood, or that of any other semi-barbarous race, as it is to protect the civilization of the nation from the deteriorating influence of inferior civilization. It is at this point that the objection of the Southern people to the negro is strongest, and it is

here that their position remains unshaken. Those of them who have a philosophic conception of the subject reason that to recognize the social equality of the races, even for the superior negroes, is to admit the right of the negroes to obtain, wherever possible, social intercourse and association with the whites. This, of course, is the natural social basis for the right to intermarry. If the negro young man has the social right to visit the white people, he has the implied right to ask the white young lady to marry him, wherever he can individually get recognition.

All the protection to the purity of the white race disappears when race distinctions and social barriers are removed. It must be admitted that from an ethnological and sociological point of view this would be an injury to the white race, and against that society should set its face. It is the duty of civilization always to protect the higher groups against the deteriorating influences of the lower groups, and likewise to protect the higher races against deterioration by the lower races. This does not mean that the lower should be prevented from rising, but that it should not be permitted to break down the higher. The improvement and progress of the poorer classes, poorer nations, and poorer races, should all come by improving the condition of their own group; but should never be permitted to come at the expense of the higher or more advanced group, nation, or race. This is a view, thoroughly sound, which the Northern people have not recognized, and, it is fair to say, which the Southern people have not emphasized as much as they might and should.

It is encouraging, however, to note that everywhere there is a more rational attitude prevailing on this race problem. In the North people are talking more sensibly about it. The idea that the negro is as fit for the suffrage as the white man, merely because he is a man, is disappearing. Nearly forty years of experimentation has shown that the suffrage in his hands has been a failure; that he has done nothing for himself with it, and done much to injure the community; that at no time has it been used by the negroes to promote any idea or political measure for their own improvement, or, for that matter, for

the general improvement of the community. The negroes have been used mainly as political tools—purchasable material for packing conventions, or to wreak vengeance on their white neighbors at whose hands they have received political and sometimes personal persecution. This generation of experience is gradually modifying the erratic idea of absolute rights regarding the negro so prevalent in the Northern and Eastern states, and it is fair to say that there is a correspondingly moderated tone of antagonism to the negro in the South. But there is one great mistake still prominent in the policy of Southerners toward the negro, and that is the manner in which they are seeking to bring about his disfranchisement. It may practically be assumed that in objecting to the negro having the suffrage, the South has the substantial endorsement of the nation in general; provided, however, that it will put the exclusion of the negro on more broad and rational ground, the ground of unfitness to exercise the suffrage. In order to do this, however, the standard of fitness must be made the same for black and white. If it be ignorance, then the ignorant white should be excluded also; if it be property qualification then it should be alike for both races.

If the South would really formulate its position and rest its doctrine of race distinction upon the principle that is so clearly and philosophically understood by some Southern people (and not the less clearly by some Southern women), and take the position that for ethnological and sociological reasons race social equality is impossible and will not be tolerated, and that industrial equality shall be recognized, and that the right of political suffrage shall not rest on race distinction, but on a basis of individual and economic fitness that shall apply to all, the sectional differences regarding the problem would disappear. The South would then have the cordial endorsement of the whole nation in maintaining the essential point in the race question, namely, race social distinction; and the race question in the South would be in a fair way toward a peaceful and rational solution under the guidance of, and entirely consistent with, the ideas of the Southern people themselves.

## MR. S. G. HOBSON ON ENGLISH FARM WAGES

The letter below has been received by the editor from Mr. S. G. Hobson, the well-known English economist. Our reply follows this criticism of our views on the grave question that Mr. Chamberlain has raised in England:

Sir:—In GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for July appears an article entitled "The Tariff Problem in England", which seems to me to call for some comment. I do not desire in this letter to enter into a discussion upon the policy of free trade, protection, or of preferential tariffs, but merely write to point out a number of highly disputable statements in the article referred to.

(1) In regard to the agricultural problem of this country, the statement is made that wages in the agricultural sections of England have fallen; that "wages of agricultural labor have actually decreased, being 1s a week lower today than they were in 1840". I challenge proof of this, either in actual figures, or, what is much more to the point, in the purchasing capacity of the shilling. It must be recognized that the agricultural problem in this country is a serious one, but it can easily be shown that agricultural skill, like agricultural values, will not appreciate by resort to a protective tariff.

(2) A second statement in the article is: "Everybody now knows that England's superiority in the foreign markets of the world is rapidly declining; in some cases it has practically disappeared. The United States is forging ahead, and has now passed England as a manufacturing country." This statement is surely about as loose as it is possible to draft a statement. In point of fact, the foreign trade of Great Britain greatly exceeds that of the United States, whilst the proportion per head of the population widens the distance enormously. That Great Britain has much to learn from the United States goes without saying. America is a new country, and in consequence there has developed a number of experiments in the "large industry" which were practically impossible in Great Britain owing to the age of its machinery and the settled disposition of British capital.

(3) The writer speaks of "England's policy of sacrificing home for foreign markets". Again I challenge the statement, and would like to see some proof. As a matter of fact, it is recognized that England is prodigiously wealthy, and that by every available test England's wealth increases year by year at an almost unexampled rate. It is unfortunate that no reliable statistics are available indicating the relation of the foreign to the home market. So far as I know, there is

no policy in this country, conscious or unconscious, of sacrificing home for foreign markets. Indeed, so much is this the case, that I constantly hear of complaints from foreign agents that they do not secure that attention to their indents and orders which they want. They complain that the English manufacturer attends to the home market first.

(4) Your reference to Mr. Chamberlain's first proposal of an industrial Zollverein, in which there should be a free trade between the component parts of the British Empire and a protective tariff against foreign manufacturers, is unfortunate and inexact. Putting on one side for the moment the larger issue as to whether such Zollverein is desirable, it remains a fact that it was rejected not by the Colonial Office, but by the Prime Ministers of all the British Colonies. The British Colonies, particularly Canada and Australia, give continued proof of their desire to build up their own manufactures by means of a protective tariff. The colonies are quite determined that this protective tariff shall be as effective against British manufactures as against American or German. A British Imperial Zollverein, with free trade throughout its parts, is out of the question for this reason. I doubt whether Great Britain would accept such a Zollverein, even if the colonies agreed to inter-colonial free trade. In any event, this proposal was killed by the colonies, and not by the people at home. When, therefore, the writer of the article speaks about "such a violent departure from the free trade doctrine", he speaks without his book.

(5) The writer postulates two essential features of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, as presented to his constituents in Birmingham and in the House of Commons. It can not be too strongly emphasized that Mr. Chamberlain at the moment is committed to no scheme. When, therefore, you speak of the first feature being the imposition of 1s a quarter on bread stuffs imported from foreign countries, your writer imputes to Mr. Chamberlain a proposal which he has never made. The 1s registration duty on imported corn was removed in this year's Budget Bill. I think your writer has mixed up two separate questions. The 1s duty on corn was imposed by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, primarily as a war tax, but secondarily as the beginning of an attempt to broaden the basis of taxation. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is a pronounced free trader, and although he regrets the removal of this duty for the second reason here given, he approves its removal on free trade grounds, now that the protectionist issue has been precipitated by a responsible member of the government.

(6) Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to tack on to the question of preferential tariffs that of old-age pensions has been laughed out of the country for two reasons: first, that it is impracticable for the simple reason that if old-age pensions are to come out of duties imposed upon foreign ports, then either the protective duties would not effect their purpose, or if they effected their purpose there would be no money

available for old-age pensions. The second reason why this proposal has been scouted is that it is palpably insincere.

(7) What does your writer mean by "introducing a bill into Parliament"? Does he seriously think that a gigantic change in English fiscal policy could be brought about by the introduction of a bill into Parliament? If the English people gave their assent to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, it would mean an endless series of bills in Parliament, the exact bearing of which no man can foretell. It is easier to take off a tariff than to put it on. The removal of tariffs from British goods involved, I think, some 40 or 50 acts of Parliament. If the taking off of the tariff involves so much legislation, who can estimate the extent of legislation required to build up a protective system on Mr. Chamberlain's lines?

I may remark that I am not myself a free trader of the *laissez-faire* school; I stand to a large extent outside the orthodox free trade and protection dispute. I think, however, it is important that readers of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE should, as far as possible, try to grasp the essential points in the discussion on fiscal policy which is likely to occupy the next two or three years in this country. The foregoing criticisms are offered because the article on the Tariff Problem in England is misleading, either from the point of view of the free trader or the protectionist.

S. G. HOBSON.

In view of the fact that Mr. Hobson is an economist, it is difficult to understand the evident hasty, not to say careless, statements in the above article. He has arranged his criticism of the article in this magazine for July under seven heads. It may therefore add to clearness to take them up in their order:

FIRST. After quoting our statement that agricultural labor in England has decreased, he says: "I challenge proof of this either in actual figures or what is much more to the point, in the purchasing capacity of the shilling."

When one issues a challenge one should have near at hand the means of defense. This is evidently a matter upon which Mr. Hobson has neglected carefully to inform himself, because the data on this point are easily accessible. The statement in the July article was based on exhaustive tables of prices and wages in Wade's "Political Economy", published in Edinburgh in 1842, and it may be said, in passing, that Wade is no mean authority. On page 166 he gives, among other tables, one showing the price of wheat, weekly wages of farm labor and the wages as measured in pints of wheat, covering periods from

1495 to 1840. From 1832 to 1840, the figures are given for every year as follows:

*Agricultural Wages.*

Years	Weekly Wages in Money		Wages in Pints of Wheat
	s.	d.	
1832	12	0	90
1833	12	0	115
1834	12	0	133
1835	11	6	162
1836	11	6	121
1837	11	6	105
1838	11	0	87
1839	11	0	80
1840	11	0	85
Average	11	6	108 2-3

It will be seen from this table that at no time during the nine years preceding 1840 were the wages of the agricultural laborers below 11s a week, and that in three of the years they were 12s a week and in three 11s 6d, and only in three years were they as low as 11s. The lowest purchasing power in pints of wheat is 80, which was in 1839. In five of the years it was about 100 and in one year it was 162. For the whole period the weekly wages averaged 11s 6d, and these wages would on the average purchase 108 2-3 pints of wheat. Agricultural wages in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and the south of England generally, except in close proximity to London and other large towns, have for several years been below 11s a week. They have been reported in the *Labor Gazette* as low as 9s in some places, and in Cambridge, with which the writer is very familiar and has recently visited, they are 10s. They are doubtless 11s now, as it is harvest time, when they are always a little higher than during other times of the year. Of course any reference to agricultural wages does not mean harvest wages. And thus money wages are a shilling less than

in 1840 and more than a shilling than they were for an average of nine years preceding that date.

Nor is Mr. Hobson much more exact in regard to the purchasing power of the shilling. If we take wheat as the standard of food stuffs, then so far as food is concerned the purchasing power of a shilling is less today than in the decade preceding 1840 or than in the year 1840. The price of wheat in Liverpool Aug. 8, 1903, the last quotation available, was \$1.54 a bushel. There are 32 pints in a bushel. 11s. equals \$2.64, so that 11s today, which was the money wages in 1840, will buy only 56 pints of wheat as against 85 pints in 1840, and 108 2-3 pints for nine years before that date; or, to take Mr. Hobson's form of expression, the shilling will now buy 5.6 pints of wheat, whereas in 1840 it would buy 7.72 pints, and for the average of nine years from 1832 to 1840, inclusive, the shilling would buy 9.88 pints of wheat. In other words, measured in wheat, the week's wages of England's agricultural labor would buy nearly 40% more in 1840 than they will buy in 1903, and 90% more on the average than for nine years preceding 1840. Of course wheat does not correctly represent the purchasing power of money. The shilling will buy more today of manufactured products, but this is not true of food stuffs.

In reply to Mr. Hobson's challenge, therefore, we furnish these facts, which show that wages, both in money value and in purchasing power in bread, are lower now than they were in 1840, or at any time during the ten years preceding that date. We leave Mr. Hobson to adjust his statement to these facts.

He further says, under this head: "It can easily be shown that agricultural skill, like agricultural values, will not appreciate by resort to a protective tariff." If Mr. Hobson should undertake the task, he would probably find that this can not be as "easily shown" as said. It can, on the other hand, be conclusively shown that manufacturing skill and values have appreciated in this country "by a resort to a protective tariff".

**SECOND.** Mr. Hobson here quotes our statement that "The United States is forging ahead and has now passed England as a manufacturing country." This he characterizes as a loose statement, and says: "The foreign trade of Great Britain

greatly exceeds that of the United States", as if that had any relation to the point. We made no reference to the foreign trade of Great Britain or this country. Our foreign trade is comparatively of little consequence. It is our immense home trade that registers the high prosperity of the United States. We had no idea of saying that the United States had passed England is an exporting country, but it has left her far behind as a manufacturing country. The volume of manufactures in this country is far in excess of the volume of manufactured products of England, which Mr. Hobson must know. His mistake here is evidently in confounding production with exports. In 1860, the manufactures of the United Kingdom aggregated \$2,808,000,000; for the same year the manufactures of the United States amounted to \$1,907,000,000. But by 1888, the United States had climbed to the top of the list. In that year the total value of the manufactures of the United Kingdom were \$3,990,000,000; and the value of the manufactures of the United States had reached the total of \$7,022,000,000. In 1894—the last year for which an accurate estimate has been made for both countries—the manufactures of the United Kingdom amounted in value to \$4,263,000,000, and those of the United States to \$9,498,000,000. The actual increase in the value of manufactures from 1860 to 1888 were: for the United Kingdom, \$1,455,000,000, and for the United States, \$7,591,000,000. These figures are taken from Mulhall.

THIRD. After quoting our statement that England's policy sacrificed the home for foreign markets, Mr. Hobson again exclaims: "I challenge the statement and would like to see some proof."

The simple proof of this is that in removing all the protection from agriculture for the benefit of the foreign trade, English land has fallen in value and millions of acres have gone out of cultivation, and those connected with the land are either making no progress or have practically fallen back, which means that the purchasing power of the whole agricultural people of England has been arrested if not actually lessened, and to that extent cut off the home market for manufactured products. If this country had stultified the consump-

tion of its agricultural population to anything like the same extent, during the last 50 years, the home market of the United States would have been so paralyzed that our present manufacturing development would have been impossible. True, England is "prodigiously wealthy", but a large amount of her wealth is drawn from foreign investments, especially in this country. There may have been no conscious policy of sacrificing the home market, but there has persistently been such an unconscious sacrifice of it for the last 50 years. The policy of England since the middle of the 19th century has been an urgent endeavor to gain foreign markets to the utter neglect of the development of agriculture and the improvement of the agricultural population at home; and the modern economists and live statesmen of England are beginning to see it as the discussion now going on clearly shows.

FOURTH. The fourth paragraph contains neither a challenge nor a definite affirmation, and may be passed over without comment.

FIFTH. The fifth paragraph is devoted to correcting the idea that Mr. Chamberlain presented a "scheme" to his constituents in Birmingham and to explaining that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who is a pronounced free-trader, approved the removal of the shilling duty on corn, all of which seems entirely unnecessary, since nothing in the article in GUNTON's said anything to the contrary. A re-reading of our article will show that there was no intention of conveying the idea that Mr. Chamberlain gave an elaborate scheme, but that he suggested a plan, the two essential features of which were, a preferential duty protecting colonial products in the English market, and the application of the revenue so collected to an old-age pension fund.

SIXTH. Mr. Hobson admits this in his sixth paragraph by saying: "Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to tack on to the question of preferential tariffs that of old-age pensions has been laughed out of the country", which is only Mr. Hobson's opinion wholly unverified by facts. We repeat, however, that it was an eminently wise proposition, whether it is laughed out of the country or not.

The tone as well as many of the statements of Mr. Hobson's article would give the impression that Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to return to a tariff policy is not taken seriously in any responsible quarters of England. But here again Mr. Hobson has evidently neglected the facts. Mr. Chamberlain's position was so strong that, although the cabinet did not commit itself to his policy, it committed the government to an investigation of the subject, and insisted upon Mr. Chamberlain's remaining in the cabinet on the ground, and the proposition was not inconsistent with the holding one of the most important cabinet portfolios. Since then his proposition has been the chief topic of discussion by the leaders of political opinion in England. The London *Daily Telegraph* is devoting column upon column to the discussion of the subject, and not in ridicule of it, but, on the contrary, it presents massive figures and vigorous editorials in support of it. In its issue of June 25th, the *Telegraph* prints several different articles on the subject, filling many columns. One was an exhaustive review of the protective policy as applied by France, Germany, and the United States. It showed, among other things, that England loses by her present policy 40,000,000 pounds a year, and that by a preferential tariff she would gain 190,000,000 pounds in trade a year. It cited the prophecies of Gladstone and other Cobdenites and showed that they had not been verified, but that the reverse had frequently taken place.

The London *Daily Express*, in its issue of June 26th, had a vigorous editorial on the subject, in which it said :

We are not talking about a zollverein. We leave that to the other side, who have to misinterpret our policy in order to find arguments.

We do not contend that trade within the empire must be made entirely free, in the sense that there are to be no import duties within the empire. That is impracticable. That is not the scheme you are to be asked to vote for. The scheme is for a preferential tariff.

Perfect freedom is to be given to every part of the empire to have such a tariff upon imports as is deemed necessary to the free exercise of industry within that part of the empire; but whatever the tariff may be, there shall be an agreement between the different parts of the empire that each will give to the goods of the others a rebate on the tariff.

By that means the producers in the colonies and in the mother country will be free to exercise their labor and capital profitably. At the same time they will help each other, so that the markets of the empire shall be secured to the empire. No one part of the empire will produce all its wants itself, but some other part can supply the deficiency; and the preferential tariff will go far to insure that the deficiency will be supplied within the empire instead of from some foreign country.

The London *Times* is devoting more space to Mr. Chamberlain's plan than to almost any other subject. In every issue since June 10th it has contained articles on the subject frequently occupying several pages. In its weekly supplement a whole page in several issues has been given up to an exhaustive discussion of a preferential tariff. It has published a series of articles by one of England's conspicuous economists. In its issue of June the 19th, the London *Times* has three editorials on the subject, in one of which its says:

We publish this morning the first of a series of articles on the fiscal policy of the empire, in which an endeavor will be made by an economist of the modern school to apply the doctrines of scientific economy, and the teachings of some of its greatest professors in the past, to the elucidation of the questions which have been brought into prominence by the recent declarations of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain. . . .

We believe that the economists, with whose teachings our contributor is about to deal, would, if they were now with us, feel that our national policy at least requires reconsideration, if not revision; and that they would have no sympathy with politicians who content themselves with the repetition of mere formulas, which were possibly never more than half-truths, or truths having application to circumstances different from those which we are now called upon to face. The time has certainly come when the people of this country must force themselves to think about questions on which, hitherto, they have perhaps been too ready to accept dogmas. The inquiry called for by Mr. Chamberlain has for some time been inevitable; and there can be no foregone conclusion as to the results which it may produce. It stands out entirely above and beyond the customary babble of party politics; and the conclusions to which it leads will have to be accepted and acted upon, even if they should appear to be opposed to cherished preconceptions. The British Empire makes up so large a portion of the world that its constituent parts, if brought into due union and cohesion, would for all practical purposes be independent of the remainder. How best to effect such union and cohesion is the problem which now presents itself alike to our statesmen and to our people; and upon the soundness

of the conclusions at which they arrive the future greatness of the empire must depend.

All this, and there is an extraordinary amount of it, conclusively shows that the subject is receiving consideration by the responsible statesmen and modern economists of England, Mr. Hobson's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEVENTH. In his seventh paragraph he takes exception to the remark, "introducing a bill into Parliament", and proceeds to explain that radically to change the English fiscal policy might involve the introduction of many bills into Parliament, as if that were not obvious. Of course it may take "an endless series of bills", but it will be done by introducing a bill or bills into Parliament if ever it is done at all. He says: "The removal of the tariff from British goods involved some forty or fifty acts of Parliament." What if it involved a hundred? It was done by legislation, and that was all that was implied. The American system of protection was not built up by a single act, nor was the factory legislation, either in England or here, nor, for that matter, is any body of the public policy ever built up by a single act. It is always the result of many efforts, some to overthrow, and others to improve and fortify. It is difficult to see why Mr. Hobson should have referred to a thing so obvious.

We are not surprised that Mr. Hobson says: "I am not a free trader of the *laissez-faire* school." But we are more than surprised to find Mr. Hobson challenging historic facts and making light of, if not antagonizing a really progressive economic movement in England.

Whatever may ultimately come of the present controversy, it is causing an extensive and broad-minded investigation of the subject by the best minds in England. As the London *Times* well says, "The time has certainly come when the people of this country [England] must force themselves to think upon questions which hitherto they have been perhaps too ready to accept as dogmas. The enquiry called for by Mr. Chamberlain has for some time been inevitable, and there can be no foregone conclusion as to the result which it may produce."

## LEO XIII AS STATESMAN AND REFORMER

The pathetic scene presented by the venerable Pope Leo, standing each midnight for a quarter of a century at a window of the Vatican and blessing the alienated city that had been the capital of the Cæsars and of his own predecessors, is one that will never fade from the imagination of mankind.

Former pontiffs had ruled not only Rome, but through the splendid and entralling tradition of Rome they had ruled the Christian world. Emperors had bowed at their feet. Their word had made and unmade kings. The earth, which had seen Cyrus and Alexander and Cæsar and Tamerlane and Napoleon, had never beheld so wide, so exalted, so haughty a power as the dominion of the great popes.

But the scepter of temporal power had slipped from the empty gripe of the latter bishops of Rome. Pius and Leo, instead of being arbiters and masters of the world, were, to use their own phrase, "prisoners in Rome;" and Leo could only pour out his midnight sorrow and blessing upon the holy city that cared nothing for the papacy, whose face indeed has long been set toward other and more distant horizons—toward the dominion of humanity, where all are to be equal and there are to be neither popes nor kings.

This deeply pathetic picture of the aged and lonely pontiff at the midnight window of the Vatican, with Rome in oblivious sleep, or in more oblivious carousal far below him, is typical of the time and eloquent of the vanished and vanishing glories of the papacy. In the religious world, although the boundaries of that world have doubtless been greatly narrowed and weakened, the Pope of Rome is still the most exalted figure. His power, at least his influence, is greater than at any previous period. The head of Islam is more implicitly obeyed and exercises a more autocratic sway over Muhammadans than the Pope does over Roman Catholic Christians; but no one, or no hundred, hierarchs in Buddhism with its one-half of the world's religious believers, no Archbishop of Canterbury, no Metro-

politan, no Dalai Lama, wields such great or such splendid puissance over the consciences of men.

The decay has been in the temporal power. Where Gregory thundered and crushed, Leo could only suggest and warn. After the terrible conflict between Germany and Rome, and France and Rome, the very arrogance that resulted from the easy triumph of the popes, precipitated the final disaster. The later popes saw people after people rise from prostration beneath their feet. Napoleon struck the final blow to the temporal power of Rome, as he struck down so many other institutions that had come out of the Dark Ages. Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel swept away what remained of it in its last refuge at Rome. Pius IX soon found himself "a prisoner" in the Vatican, and Leo XIII inherited all the bitterness of defeat and the chagrin of a fancied captivity.

Perhaps the hour of greatness in every field of endeavor has passed for all time. It does not thrive in the white light of modern criticism, and amid free thought and free speech. Certainly this is true of the papacy. The opportunity for great and dazzling achievements had passed long before Leo became pope. He could not outline the policies of nations, or partition the world between two favorite monarchs. His rule has been spiritual only, and confined to the twelve hundred bishops of the Roman hierarchy. This still constituted, for minds like his and theirs, the most exalted empire in the world. But it was an empire of the word, not of the sword, as John of Paris, the defender of King Philip, in his controversy with Rome, dared to tell even the great Boniface. Another French free-thinker of the same period, Peter Dubois, had boldly asserted the true policy of the papacy, although in words that were brusque and almost insulting. He said: "The pope is no ruler, and ought not to be; his business is to save souls, while by meddling in politics he has sent many to hell. Moreover, the men who are elected pope are generally decrepit old men. They should confine themselves to their spiritual ministrations." The modern pope can hope to exercise power outside the bounds of the shadowy empire of conscience only through his wisdom, and this wisdom must be of the kind that Jesus fore-

saw,—the wisdom of the serpent whose way on the rock, even the rock that is the foundation of the Romish church, is beyond finding out.

How did Leo succeed, with such shorn and attenuated authority? It may be said at once that, although he inherited an almost insupportable burden of difficulties, and could employ only the weapons of diplomacy, of wisdom, and of persuasion in what he called “the struggle against the church,” he emerged from this conflict the most respected and withal the most exalted figure of his time. This triumph had been clearly won long before his death, so that his last venerable years were spent in the radiance of victory.

Pope Leo’s chief success was sought and won upon new fields. The impulse that turned him from Europe to America, and that directed the course of Catholicism westward with the course of empire, was his greatest inspiration. It was natural that he should have a distaste for conflict on fields where the power of the papacy had been shattered; but a man of less wisdom, or a man less great, would have fought the same desperate battles and suffered the same disasters. Not so with Leo. He contented himself with making the hazardous position of Catholicism in Europe impregnable, and then turned to spiritual conquests in new worlds. He recognized more fully than Pius IX that the temporal power had departed forever; and for him this made the spiritual world glow like a star.

It is not to be understood that Leo did not cherish, as his predecessors had done, the dream of a restored temporal power. Like Pius IX, he felt that the interests of the spiritual power demanded the exercise of the temporal power, at least over Rome. It has been reported that shortly after his election he read with elation Macaulay’s eloquent but greatly exaggerated panegyric on the papacy:

The papacy remains, not a mere antique, but full of life and useful vigor. The Catholic Church is sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine, and is still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. . . . Nor do we see any sign that the term of long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement

of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world, and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. . . . It is impossible to deny that the polity of the Church of Rome is the very masterpiece of human wisdom.

But this over-colored picture could not long represent for him the actual church as it confronted the liberal minded nineteenth century. The sword-arm of the pope, which Macaulay still fancied as uplifted against "hostile kings," was in reality paralyzed at his side. It was not his destiny to confront kings. He turned to the people, and founded in their hearts the new empire of the church.

It is remarkable that it was from an Englishman and a former Protestant that he received the counsel to turn from dynasties, and from the American prelates the suggestion to depend more on democracies. Cardinal Manning, in response to one of Leo's earlier encyclicals, wrote: "Leave dynasties to themselves. . . . Go forth to meet the people." Later, a number of American prelates visited him at his request and carried him tidings of the new world as startling to this hermit of the Vatican as the tidings of Deira and his Angles had been to Gregory. He wonderfully understood at once the spirit of a new people, face to face with new problems along the frontiers of the world. From these two sources came the inspiration to appeal to the people; and so, after nineteen centuries, the ancient Church of Rome had learned well the lesson of the founder of Christianity. So well was Leo to love the United States that he is reported to have believed that it would be best for the Church of Rome for this Protestant country to annex Catholic Mexico and Central America.

This new policy represented an abrupt and complete change in the views of Pope Leo. He had vehemently denounced socialism, but now almost favored many socialistic ideals. In his encyclical of December 28, 1878, against Socialism, Communism, Nihilism, etc.,—movements of which he had at the time only rudimentary and vague ideas—he said:

We are alluding to that sect of men who, under the motley and all but barbarous terms and titles of Socialists, Communists and Nihilists,

are spread abroad throughout the world and bound intimately together in baneful alliance, no longer look for strong support in secret meetings held in darksome places, but standing forth openly and boldly in the light of day, strive to carry out the purpose, long resolved upon, of uprooting the foundations of civilized society at large.

But in his more famous encyclical on the Working Classes, written in 1891, he advocated the cause of labor so strongly that he seemed to place himself almost under the banner of socialism. He recognized the right of labor to organize as a natural right; he almost gave his sanction to the principle of the "strike;" he pleaded for a "living wage;" and urged the view that the state should zealously safeguard the interests of the workers. While the weight of custom of centuries of tyranny and oppression impelled him to add that the poor must accept their lot, that there is no practical solution to the labor question without religion, and seemed to think that the working classes should be the object of a kind of charity on the part of the rich, or of paternal solicitude on the part of the State, still the views of this great encyclical were revolutionary. They bridged chasms and overleaped centuries of prejudice and error. A new day had dawned in Rome. A suave diplomatist, an adroit politician, a profound statesman, a patient thinker, and a sage counselor was at the head of the church.

The words on labor, in this great encyclical, are well worth reading now, when Leo XIII has gone to well-earned rest, and another democratically minded pontiff sits in fisherman Peter's chair:

We now approach a subject of great and urgent importance, and one in respect of which, if extremes are to be avoided, right notions are absolutely necessary. Wages, as we are told, are regulated by free consent, and therefore the employer, when he pays what was agreed upon, has done his part and seemingly is not called upon to do anything beyond. The only way, it is said, in which injustice might occur would be if the master refused to pay the whole of the wages, or if the workman should not complete the work undertaken; in such cases the state should intervene, to see that each obtains his due—but not under any other circumstances. . . . Nevertheless, there is a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that remuneration ought to be sufficient to support a frugal and well-behaved wage earner.

In another passage in this encyclical Leo lays down the following principle as to the sufficiency of wages:

If a workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife and his children in reasonable comfort, he will not find it difficult, if he be a sensible man to study economy, and he will not fail, but cutting down expenses, to put by some little savings and thus secure a small income.

These are the words of Europe, and suit better the immigrants we get from Southern Italy than the free and aspiring workmen of America. According to the Pope's view, the workmen can save a little for a future competency only by "cutting down expenses." But this is not consistent with the usual idea of a "living wage," which presupposes that wages have been cut down to the last margin. We expect and demand something better for American workers.

Once, indeed, the Pope approaches, and seems to catch a glimpse of the true thought. He says:

As a general principle it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest proportionate to the wear and tear of his strength; for waste and strength must be repaired by cessation from hard work.

But even here he is not on the right path. Of course the workman, if he is to be as efficient tomorrow as he is today, must have enough rest to repair his wasted strength. This was too axiomatic and obvious even for an encyclical. In America, at least, we demand a longer cessation from toil than is needed for mere recuperation. We demand enough rest to give the workman opportunity for enjoyment, for self-improvement, for making himself a better citizen of the State; and we demand also that his wages be sufficient to enable him to put by something for a future competency without stinting himself too much, and to enable him to educate his children, so that from generation to generation the stock of our race shall be improved and made more vigorous, and so that a great, cleanly, wholesome, cultured, artistic people shall fill the land.

Leo XIII had several occasions on which to rebuke "the opinions which some comprise under the head of American-

ism," as he says in the encyclical of January 22, 1899. It would be idle to add another word to the millions that have been spoken and written about the controversy over Father McGlynn and Henry George, and over the book called "The Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker." The Pope himself did not seem to understand exactly what was this body of new and pernicious doctrine classified as "Americanism;" and, with his accustomed tact, he left himself a wide pathway of escape by adding:

If, indeed, by that name be designated the characteristic qualities which reflect honor on the people of America, just as other nations have what is special to them; or if it implies that condition of your commonwealths, or the laws and customs which prevail in them, there is surely no reason why we should deem that it ought to be discarded.

We can afford to leave these doctrines with this qualified condemnation—this qualified approval.

In two admirably clear and informing articles in the *Dublin Review*, for April and July, 1902, Mr. C. S. Devas has summarized the economic teachings or views of Leo XIII. The social reforms "particularly recommended for our times by Leo XIII," Mr. Devas classes under three heads: Small Properties, Factory Legislation, and Workmen's Associations. He says:

The *first* regards the spread of ownership among the bulk of the people or its preservation; and implies repression of usury, restraint of monopoly, moderation of rates and taxes, exemption of the homestead from seizure. . . .

The *second head* is factory legislation in the widest sense. It is a matter, as we have seen, not of charity, but of justice, that no one be overworked, that regard be paid to age and sex, that opportunity be given for the exercise of religion, that precautions be taken against immorality in workshops, that no violence or breach of lawful contract towards employers be committed, that fair wages be paid; finally, that failing other means of securing these claims of justice, the state must intervene.

As to the third head, that of Association, Mr. Devas says:

It is easy now to see that the leading industrial feature of the closing years of the nineteenth century was the vast development in Europe and America of all kinds of association; so that it is hardly

an overstatement to speak of the era of competition having passed, and the era of combination having come in its stead. But long ago Leo XIII, as if foreseeing the change, kept on urging from the first year of his pontificate that Catholic workmen should be organized in associations, and should revive, in a form suited to the times, the guilds that in times past had so well served their spiritual and temporal interests.

It will be put down to his honor that Leo. XIII went much farther than other popes had ventured in championing the cause of labor and espousing sound economic theories. For this the working classes all over the world owe him lasting gratitude. His economic and sociological views were not advanced. They were not even abreast of the best thought of the day. They were, indeed, so conservative as to seem a trifle belated and old-fashioned, but they at least gave the sanction of the Church of Rome to the cause of labor. And thus the venerable pontiff carried reinforcement, fresh courage, and new hope to the fighting line of civilization.

Leo may have said more truly of the papacy than Napoleon III of the empire—"The papacy is peace." He called his new policy of conciliating republicanism and democracy, and of living on terms of amity with all creeds and governments, "the strategy of peace." Yet, he was not a great pacifier, any more than he was a great propagandist. He was simply a great mind, and a great heart, set upon the highest, if the coldest, intellectual peak of the world. But he loved peace, and the great force of his life of patience and calm, not less than his ceaseless counsel, worked everywhere in the interest of peace.

Of his successor, Pius X, it is generally believed that he holds the same policies as Leo, with more friendliness toward the Italian government. It is probable that under his guidance the Church of Rome may find a practical and satisfactory ending of the long quarrel with Italy. It is also likely that Pius will carry farther than Leo the recognition of the rights of labor and of the economic and sociological truths that are as the battle-cries of the new century.

## PASSING OF TEMPORAL POWER WITH LEO XIII

HAYNE DAVIS

On September 20, 1870, the army of United Italy attacked the city of Rome, then under the dominion of the Pope, as London is today under that of Edward VII. After capturing the city, on the following day, the Papal territory was annexed to the kingdom, and Rome was declared the capital of United Italy, the Pope being thus forcibly deprived of sovereignty in Rome and the Papal territory, and this sovereignty transferred to the king and parliament of United Italy.

Aside from the question of the right or wrong of the Pope's exercising temporal power, he did in fact exercise it, and believed it right that he should do so. If we bear this in mind we can comprehend the feelings engendered by this event in the hearts of many that were high in the councils of the Roman Catholic Church, one of whom was Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci, who became Pope, as Leo. XIII, on Feb. 18, 1878 —less than seven years after Rome was wrested from the Church. Time enough had not elapsed for destroying a belief inherited for centuries, and upon assuming the throne of the Roman Church, Leo held to the claim of his successor that he was a prisoner in his own kingdom and capital.

The Italian government, after seizing the Papal territory, treated the Pope's temporal authority seriously enough to pass a law guaranteeing to Pius IX and his successors forever possession of the Vatican and Lateran Palaces and the Villa of Castle Gandolfo, and a yearly income of more than half a million dollars. Pius and Leo remained in possession of the palaces, because they claimed them as their own, but they declined to receive one cent of the money appropriated, which by 1902 had increased to \$20,000,000. To receive the money would be to renounce the claim to temporal power, and the Roman Catholic Church in Italy and Europe holds the belief that the prestige and the power of temporal authority are essential

to its success in its spiritual mission. But until the Roman Church renounces its asserted right to temporal power and consents to be free in its own sphere of right instead of claiming to be a prisoner in that of others, neither the Roman Church nor the governments in Europe can realize the blessings that come from free religion within free governments. America, and the Roman Catholic Church in America, have richly enjoyed these blessings from the very founding of this nation, and they will become universal some day, largely through the demonstration of the United States that it is best for the Church and for the State and for the people that the churches devote themselves to religion, while the government is managed by the people as citizens of the State.

After organizing the United States in the republican form—home rule—and providing for its operation on the democratic principle—periodical choice of officers by contemporaries—its founders rendered an inestimable service not only to this country, but to the world, by making proper provision for the conduct of religion. Some Europeans of note seem to think that freedom of conscience in the United States is guaranteed by the federal government. On the contrary, the law for religion in this nation is that the federal government can not require a religious test for holding office under it, and can not pass a law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. This leaves each state free to do as it thinks right about religion within its own domain. This freedom of religion within a free nation, composed of free states, whose citizens are of every nationality, is a wonderful achievement. Busy Americans, whose labors are performed, and the fruits of labor enjoyed, under such a system, are apt to overlook the blessings they have received while the people of other lands are still in the agony of the Church and State conflict.

Contact with the American mind has already been forced upon the Pope by our acquisition of the Philippines. There, as here, he will witness the wonderful progress of the Roman Church when free within a government it does not meddle with and can not hamper. While European churchmen are in the toils of making plans for keeping the Church established

and perhaps for regaining temporal power, American churchmen will be freed from all such cares and will be devoting themselves to the true work of the church. The spiritual power of the American bishops of the Roman church will grow, and the church of Rome in America will make progress accordingly. It is reasonable to suppose that, if the successor of Leo XIII rules for a quarter of a century, the American cardinals will be able to make Americanism so powerful at Rome that the Church will renounce temporal power and henceforth devote itself to the work it came into being to perform.

If the cardinals are ever led to elevate an American to the papacy, the fifty years following would be wonderful years. Any American cardinal would ascend the papal throne imbued with the truth demonstrated in America—that it is best for all to have a government conducted by any one who can get the votes of the people; and religions managed by any one who can find and hold followers, so long as the religious organization keeps its hands off the government. So that upon the elevation of an American to the papacy, the whole world would at once begin to receive the benefits already realized in America. This day may be far off; but in the mean time not only American but universal influences are preparing to destroy the papal claim to temporal power, one of which deserves special notice.

In issuing the call for the conference which created the Hague Court, the tsar did not invite the pope to send a representative. Whether so intended or not, this was the second great step in the dissipation of the papal claim to temporal power. It leaves the pope out of the embryonic government of the whole world, as the unification of Italy thirty-five years ago forced him out of the actual government of Rome and of the papal territory. It is a very significant fact that three hundred years ago, when Henry the Great of France conceived his Grand Design—namely, the formation of a grand republic composed of all the nations, each nation to remain in control of its local affairs and have representation in the parliament of the united nations—the pope was recognized as one of the temporal rulers, indeed, as the foremost one. According to

the record of Henry's plans, as they come to us in the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, his Prime Minister, the pope was not only to be mediator for the settlement of quarrels between nations, but was to have a representation in the council of the united nations equal to any of the greatest nations, that is, four representatives. The same number was allotted to the Roman Emperor, to France, Spain, England, Denmark, Lombardy, Poland, and Venice. The other nations were to have two each. This would have given a senate with sixty-six members, that would have been continually in session, but whose members would have to be rechosen every three years by the nation they represented.

Henry's plan of action was to propose this union to the nations in which he had the greatest confidence. After obtaining their assent, he was to put himself at the head of the army provided by them, and give to the other nations the choice between voluntary assent to what was manifestly for the good of all, or war with the forces back of him. In Henry's estimate of the forces thus to be furnished, the pope's quota was put down at 10,000 foot soldiers, 1,500 horse, and eight cannon, to be provided for three years. The total forces counted on from other nations friendly to the design amounted to 100,000 foot soldiers from 20,000 to 25,000 horse, and about one hundred and twenty cannon. The army of France was to be 30,000 foot soldiers, 8,000 horse, and fifty cannon; the whole force to be under the command of Henry the Great.

It is encouraging to think that a pope, in 1600, agreed to furnish an armed force\* for the formation of a world-wide republic in which the papacy was to be one of the leading constituent units, and that a pope in 1898 claimed to be a prisoner in his kingdom, while that kingdom, with twenty-five other nations, were actually laying the corner stone of this world-wide republic. It is a happy sign of what is to come—first the formation and then the perfection and perpetuation of a world-wide republic in the image and likeness of the United States, in which freedom of conscience must not be interfered with by the united nations, and shall be respected in each nation when its people become wise enough for this.

With the Hague Court in existence, what remains to be done is to give it the right to try certain classes, and finally all sorts, of controversies between nations, and to create a legislature to correspond to it, with the authority to amend the law of nations; and when the constitution of this united nations is consciously drawn, to insert those clauses about religion that are in the constitution of the United States. This will leave each nation free to work out of the deformity of Church and State united, as soon as its people rise to the height of doing this, and will forever prevent the establishment of any religion, or interference with freedom of conscience by the united nations.

It is not possible to say when these things will come to pass, but the United States is preparing the way, and will play a leading part in their accomplishment. Cæsar, Charlemagne, Henry the Great, and Napoleon, more or less clearly saw and planned for this, but the time for it had not come till the right relation between Church and State had been ascertained and successfully put in practise. When this was done and a government founded capable of world-wide expansion without destroying the liberty of a single individual or community, men of science were let into secrets that have made all nations next door neighbors. Perhaps the fruition of this will come in the harvest time of this century, which has already prepared the soil and planted the seed of a world-wide republic.

## THE GEORGIA STATE INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE FOR NEGROES.

LEONORA BECK ELLIS.

In the count of our national life, we must reckon upon the descendants of African blood as an enduring element. Few students of deeper insight into political science or ethnical processes will pause to question this. Let phrase-makers call the negro what they will—the South's insolvable problem, the white man's burden, the Promethean curse, the black peril. Let visionaries stir a vague following by baseless plans for deportation of the blacks, extra-territorial colonization of them, and similar chimeras, while extremists of another type urge the claim that the negro is being eliminated by the quiet method of a swift and sure race decadence.

Fanatics will continue to raise such cries for or against the dark people we once held in slavery. None of them, however, affects the real matter at issue. It is the sane man, the man no less sound of brain than of heart, who, recognizing the negro as an abiding factor in our civilization, is losing no time over setting in action such forces as will convert the race into an element of our strength rather than our weakness.

The one path to this righteous end is now conceded to lie along the lines of the negro's practical education, which must mean first his industrial training and development. True, it has not been long since, in certain parts at least, there prevailed a different ideal. But we have now left this so far behind that attack upon such an error is at least as much out of place as its defense would be. Not alone at Tuskegee has the fundamental teaching been that all forms of labor are honorable, all idleness discreditable, not to say disgraceful. The most hopeful phase of our present day development is that here is the starting point of the white man's education as well as the black's. The exaltation of work, of every man's true and honest work, was the beginning of our awakening.

It was a Southern man, a Georgian, who, a few years

ago, at the close of a noted trial, climaxing one of the darkest of our many dark tragedies, published a grave and helpful article in which he called upon the world at large, and our section in particular, to take cognizance of the fact that 90 per cent. of negro criminals of every grade were vagabonds or semi-vagabonds at the time of criminally offending. The writer was Harry S. Edwards, well-known in literature as also in political life; and he proceeded with his argument in this wise:

"If, then, we recognize as true that idleness and vagabondage breed the negro criminal, and that home-life and property rights make the negro a good citizen, it would seem that the hopeful and reasonable course of the Southern states would be the encouragement of the industrious negro, and such legislation as would make it impossible for many negroes to remain in idleness."

Industrial education for the blacks having been accepted as the first step toward their moral uplift, and it must be toward their mental development, schools of agriculture, manual training, and domestic science became the prime object of those with a judicious care for the race's progress. Both public and private subscriptions and donatives for the founding of such institutions have been liberal; and in the past few years industrial departments have been added to many negro schools long conducted with only literary courses. All the world is acquainted to-day with Hampton and Tuskegee, and the noble, indeed, unexampled work they have done for a recently emancipated race. Many institutions of like aim, though more limited resources and scope, are scattered throughout the Southern states. That founded and conducted by Miss Giles in Atlanta, Ga., and known as Spellman Seminary, is the most noted of those that train negro girls alone.

Yet, let these schools increase in numbers and capacity as they may, let them continue to work as strenuously, heroically, as they now do, for the uplifting of a needy people, and send out yearly their scores, or even hundreds of graduates. Still, how pitifully inadequate must such a provision be! Remember, there are nine millions of this race to be provided for,

looked after by the higher, helped upward, and trained to those forms of self-maintenance which alone can lead to sobriety, good citizenship, and right living.

The one wholly adequate method of doing this is through the public schools and higher institutions equipped and conducted by public money. These certainly should not supplant, nor could they, indeed, supplant, the schools supported by endowment or private funds. But the public training must be set within reach of all that vast majority necessarily shut off from the benefits of private institutions.

The state of Georgia has shown a very progressive spirit in providing industrial training for her negro citizens. The last census gave this state a negro population of 1,034,998, a small fraction below 50 per cent. of her entire population. How must this inferior half reduce our averages in everything, lowering our literacy records, raising the criminal count, tainting the body-politic, affecting for evil our entire citizenship, and weakening the very fabric of state, unless adequate educational provision is made for them. And this does not mean, assuredly, the mere teaching of every negro child to read, write, figure, or even to speak grammatically and perhaps inflect the Latin verb. So much was being done by the public schools in our cities and towns a dozen years ago even. Yet thoughtful men and women as early as that confessed the system inadequate.

Georgia is doing far better than this now. The public school system in many of her cities, notably Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, and Columbus, has been revolutionized and constructed anew upon a rational basis. Manual training, domestic science, instruction in industrial pursuits, these for white and black alike, have come to be essentials in the everyday course.

Permit me to quote from a letter recently received from the able superintendent of the Columbus Public Schools, that will tell you clearly and simply what is being done there for negro pupils :

"I find your letter asking for information relative to the negro schools.

"We have the same work given the negro children that is given the white children, except that the negro children give more time to manual training and industrial pursuits. Our effort is to make of the girls competent domestics, and of the boys laborers who can earn a livelihood. From the fifth grade through the ninth the boys and girls give one-half their time to industrial education. Thus far the boys have been given only work in wood. Later they are to have work in leather and in iron. The girls are taught plain sewing, including the making of simple garments, cooking, laundrying, dining service, and house-cleaning. . . . Heretofore we were unable to hold any of the negro boys through the ninth grade. Since manual training was introduced, an increasing number are found in the graduating class. The pupils generally are beginning to show appreciative interest in this work. The special teachers are graduates of Booker Washington's school at Tuskegee, and bring to our schools that excellent spirit which characterizes the work of his institution."

No need to emphasize that here is indeed a great stride forward: you see it at a glance. Nor is there any necessity now of going into further details regarding the system in Columbus, or instituting a comparison between it and that in other Georgia cities. If Columbus leads, at least the others are reaching out earnestly toward the same standards. When every public school in the state shall have followed the lead of those in the cities indicated, making industrial training as much a part of each curriculum as are reading and spelling, then indeed will the true note of progress have been struck.

But in another way, still more marked, has the state of Georgia made manifest her conviction of duty towards her negro population. She has made their industrial and technical training the care of her state university, adding to this complex system of schools a very important branch college for negroes alone.

The state university of Georgia is organized upon a basis different from that in other states of our union, or even in Europe. The university comprises, as elsewhere, an extensive system of interdependent and related schools. But the point of

difference is this : these co-ordinated institutions, instead of being gathered into one town or vicinage, are distributed throughout the state, the location of each departmental school being determined by special fitness of some important kind. The little city of Athens is the central point of this complex university life, five of its ten schools being located at or near the town. But five other important branches are assigned to different portions of the state ; and among these is the Industrial College for Negroes.

It was in November, 1890, that an act of the Georgia legislature provided for the establishment, in connection with the state university, of a school for the education and training of negro students ; and in the following summer the chancellor of the university inaugurated a preliminary session of the new institution at Athens. A few months later this school, now known as the "State Industrial College for Colored Youths," was permanently located about five miles from Savannah. Beginning with an enrollment of eight pupils, the institution has increased in numbers and importance until it now has a student body of nearly 600, housed in 8 buildings. The courses are four in number, the industrial, preparatory, normal, and collegiate, and all students are required to take one or more branches of the first. Instruction is given in every line of agricultural science, in blacksmithing, carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, painting, glazing, brick-masonry, plastering, wheelwrighting, dressmaking and cooking. Students of the mechanical department are also required to do all the repair work, and to assist in other work.

The courses are open to both sexes, and the end striven after is to prepare all students for some form of useful service, which means good citizenship. A list of the graduates is kept, and the after-career of each is closely watched. Up to this time none of its alumni has failed to be usefully employed after leaving the institution.

The college owns 86 acres of land, 35 being used for a campus and the remaining 51 for a farm, on which the students of the agricultural department receive their training. Close attention is given, first, to plain farming as it should be done in

this section, then to agricultural science in general, the study of soils, plant constituents, and the chemistry of food. Dairy-ing is made an especial care. Sufficient vegetables, dairy products, and other food supplies are regularly produced from this 51-acre farm by student labor to furnish the tables of the boarding departments, and last year \$1,000 was cleared from this source.

All the departments are fairly well provided with the necessary equipment for their work, the location is eminently healthful, and the wide campus, shaded by giant live-oaks with their beautiful pendant moss, is, for natural scenery, perhaps the most attractive in the state, or indeed in many states.

For admission into the college, applicants should not be less than 14 years of age, of good moral character, and qualified to pass an entrance examination proving their ability to read and write the English language correctly, prepare an original composition, and show sufficient advancement in mathematics to begin the study of algebra and geometry. But, lest even these limited demands should bar too many from the valuable privileges of the school, the College Commission has wisely made provision for the admission of students of a preparatory grade into a department of their own. A seven-year course is thus provided, and at present a very large proportion of the students are in the preparatory.

Tuition in the Industrial College is made free by law to all citizens of Georgia, while board, including laundry, fuel, and bedding, is furnished in the Stewards' Hall at \$5.00 a month, or \$40.00 a scholastic year. There are as yet no scholarships, although it is hoped that these will be bestowed by friends of the institution. But to aid students in meeting their necessary expenses, work on the college farm is offered to all at reasonable remuneration. A large proportion of the students are thus working their way through the course without aid from family or friends.

Domestic science studies for girls are made of prime importance, and rightly so, not merely because, as statistics inform us, 57 per cent. of all negro girls enter domestic service,

but also because here lies the most direct path to cleaner homes and purer living.

In addition to the regular collegiate term of this institution there is a summer school for seven weeks, in which instruction is free to all. Three hundred students attended the last session, and the interest and zeal displayed were remarkable. There is, moreover, a normal school connected with the college, its privileges, also, being without money or price. Many graduates have gone from this department to fill positions in the various industrial schools in Georgia and elsewhere. In this department, as in others, the greatest effort is made to bring all instruction to a genuinely practical basis, training these students of pedagogy to meet actual conditions in the country schools of Georgia, as well as her better equipped town and city institutions.

During a very recent conference of the faculty with the College Commission, presided over by the scholarly Dr. Walter B. Hill, chancellor of the university, the important decision was arrived at that certain eliminations should be made in higher Latin and Greek studies, which, although laid down in the course, could not be reached by the students, as had been demonstrated by a ten-years' test. The practical demands are too strenuous for any large concessions to classical studies.

Yet no one must infer from this that there is a relaxation of effort, on the part of either teachers or supervising commissioners, in the direction of academic culture. On the contrary, the whole endeavor is towards the co-ordination of this culture with industrial training. All the pupils in this school are required to do work of both kinds; and for this reason one-half go into the academic studies in the morning and the other half to the industrial work, while in the afternoon an exchange is made. The arrangement is simple and effective.

The members of the faculty of the college, as of all negro schools in the South that are supported by public funds, are negro men and women, all possessing not merely intelligence and cultivation, but also of good moral repute. At the head stands Prof. R. R. Wright, an earnest leader of his race, who has presided over the institution from its first establishment

and stood the severest tests of the difficult years of early organization and fluctuating growth. He is a graduate of the Atlanta University for Negroes, and has studied also at Harvard and abroad.

However, there is vested in the chancellor of the State University, the right to a general supervision over the school, and Dr. Hill invariably visits it once a month, conferring with the faculty in a body and by individuals, likewise with the five state commissioners who aid in directing its destinies. The interests of the institution are thus carefully guarded and its usefulness preserved from the limitations which any one man or set of men might impose thereupon.

It is pleasant to note how the best life and the most important movements among the Georgia negroes are beginning to center in this college. Not only are the most intelligent negro families of the state represented in the body of undergraduates, but many older men and even women attend the summer courses and lectures, notably those on agriculture, domestic service, and household economics. Again, in February of last year, Prof. Wright, as president of the Colored Farmers' Conference, convened this important assembly at the college, thus affording a very valuable object lesson to his 550 students. But did not the 300 delegates to the conference receive a lesson even more valuable when they looked over the beautiful campus, inspected the commodious and well-kept buildings, attended the lectures and instructions in each department, above all, visited the model stock-yards, barns, dairy, and divisions of the farm? I can not pass over without remark the notable fact that at this rally of the negroes at their state institution, the 300 representative farmers were all owners of their own homes, and many were comparatively wealthy, one of them paying taxes on \$50,000 worth of property all of which he had made from agriculture. You will not think it strange, then, that the negro landholder in Georgia is becoming a factor worthy of consideration.

The student body at the Industrial College is largely from this better class of negroes, although, as observed before, a considerable proportion of the pupils are making their way

through the school by their individual exertions. Great resolution is shown by these dauntless workers, and many incidents might be related to illustrate the fortitude with which they meet and vanquish difficulties seemingly unconquerable.

The deportment of the students, both on the campus and in the town, has been quite uniformly decent and seemly. The citizens of Savannah and Thunderbolt, the pretty suburb adjacent to the school and farm, give the collegians an excellent name, saying that they find them in no wise obnoxious as neighbors.

To make a finish of this brief account of a remarkable institution, better words can not be found than those final ones of the significant resolutions adopted at the closing of the Negro Educational Conference, which met in Atlanta last year. They rung around the globe at the time of utterance, those weighty words: yet no one who cares for humanity's upward climbing can be sorry to hear them again, or to read them written underneath this language-picture of a school which typifies the best hope of those negro leaders:

"We earnestly recommend to our people throughout the country," said they, in promulgating a farewell message to their race the globe over, "that they teach their children the dignity and value of manual labor, and that they give them the benefit of an industrial education which will enable them to enter the world's industries with as much knowledge, skill, and dexterity, as members of other races possess. That, for the purpose of securing competent men and women to lead the race in its struggle for greater knowledge, purer character, better religion, nobler manhood, and larger accumulation of wealth, we must encourage the higher education of as many of our boys and girls as are susceptible of higher training."

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY.

EDWIN MAXEY.

Partly as a result of the recent industrial depression, and partly due to legislation procured by the administration at a sacrifice of parliamentary procedure, the German government finds itself today face to face with a difficult political situation. One of the most noticeable features of this situation is the large gains made by the Social Democrats in the elections that have just been held throughout the empire.

The Social Democrats, or Socialists as they are often called, have gained 23 seats. In the popular vote they have made a gain of 800,000 over the preceding election. They now have, in round numbers 3,000,000 votes, or about two-fifths of the entire vote of the empire. In Saxony, which is one of the greatest industrial kingdoms in Germany, the Socialists now have more votes than all the other parties combined. And in Essen, where the party was but yesterday bitterly attacked by the Emperor, its vote has increased fivefold.

Such increases in the strength of the Socialists is not a mere accident. The Socialist party is made up very largely of the working classes; and to these any legislation that may increase the cost of food is abhorrent. The recent tariff law, which was a concession to the Agrarians, is perhaps largely responsible for the marked increase in the Socialist vote.

The increase in tariff rates was made by the German ministry for a twofold purpose; (1) to secure the adherence of the Agrarians to the imperial military and naval program; and (2) as a check to the "American invasion." The first of these was of course not announced openly by the ministry, but the second was; and evidently it was intended as an appeal to the patriotic sentiment of all classes.

Whether the carrying out of the military and naval program for which the Emperor stands sponsor is a matter of such transcendent importance that it must be adhered to at

whatever sacrifice, is a large question and one upon which I would not wish to pass a hasty judgment. Yet my impression is that, unless Germany intends to assume an offensively aggressive policy, an increase in her military and naval strength is not necessary in order to secure for her peace at home and respect abroad. If in this I am correct, it follows that it is not the part of wisdom for her to burden her toiling masses in order either to gratify a love of show or to overawe other countries. I have no misgivings in asserting that a considerable number of the German people share this view. The spirit of the men of '48 is again beginning to assert itself in the fatherland, and is becoming a factor in the politics of the German empire.

It is upon this basis that we can account for a considerable portion of the increase in the Socialist strength. Many of the Liberals are joining the Socialist ranks, so that the opponents of militarism will soon present a united front. The Liberals oppose it from principle, the Socialists because it rubs, while both agree that a less display of force would not result in a loss of self-respect nor would it endanger the national safety.

Whether to make it easier for the Liberals to join them or because of a conviction of their present impracticability, the Socialists have either abandoned or postponed many of their more radical programs for the readjustment of social conditions. Whatever the motive for this change, I think that the result will be beneficial. In policies which have to do with the government of mankind it is well that the dicta of philosophy should be made to harmonize with considerations of practical expediency, or be abandoned.

In dealing with the tariff question the ministry was juggling with hot irons, and whether or not any fingers have been burned remains to be seen. The situation was one that called for an exercise of the highest statesmanship. Upon the one hand were the Agrarians clamoring for an increase of duties to enable them to compete with more favored agricultural regions, principally the rich farm lands of the Mississippi valley; upon the other were the industrial classes protesting with soulful earnestness against the enactment of legislation

that would increase the price of food. It is difficult to say which of these would have triumphed had it not been that a yielding to the demands of the Agrarians would win their support for the naval program, while the support of the Socialists would not be thus won over. Hence the decision, instead of resting entirely upon economic principles, was influenced largely by tactical considerations.

From the viewpoint of economics, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to harmonize a high tariff upon food with the welfare of the Germany of today or what in all human probability will be the Germany of tomorrow. The marvelous progress of Germany during the last quarter century rests mainly upon the development which has made her a leading factor in struggle for the markets of the world. During this brief period full many a German town has been transformed from a hamlet of a mere handful of people to a thriving center of industry. The productive power of the empire has more than doubled. During this period also her artisans have been fed from the granaries of the United States. It is no reflection upon the German people to say that this supply of cheap food has been and still is a factor of paramount importance in her industrial development. German soil, which is not especially fertile, is unable to furnish food for the rapidly increasing population of Germany. When two decades ago Bismarck advocated a high tariff upon food-stuffs, Germany's home supply of food was more nearly equal to the demand than it is today or will be tomorrow. The fact is that the expansion of German industries has been accompanied by a growth in her population that has outrun the increase in the productive power of her soil.

It is therefore clear that an increase of the German tariff upon foodstuffs will increase the price of food to the German people. This additional burden will fall most heavily upon the wage-earning classes, in whose budget the expenditure for food is a relatively large item. One of two things must result —either an increase in wages, or a lower standard of living among the laborers. If the former, there is an increase in the cost of manufacturing; if the latter, there is a decreasing effi-

ciency upon the part of the workers. So that in either case the products of the German mills and factories will be put at a disadvantage in their competition for the markets of the world.

An increase in the price of food in Germany will not only handicap the German manufacturer but it will lead inevitably to a growth of socialism and a marked increase in the strength of the Socialist party. Thus it would seem that the Conservatives are playing into the hands of their opponents. Should the Socialists obtain a majority in the Reichstag, as seems not impossible in spite of the fact that as their strength is in the cities they have not the representation in that body to which their numbers entitle them, the Kaiser will have troubled waters through which to steer his legislative bark.

It is no doubt the intent of the government to avoid an increase in the price of food by the negotiation of reciprocity treaties. But a nation that is thus forced to negotiate reciprocity treaties is at a disadvantage in the negotiating of them. As against her, the food-producing countries can dictate terms, and there are also the protected industries at home to be reckoned with when a reciprocity treaty is to be negotiated. A satisfactory reciprocity scheme is far more easily planned than put into operation.

In view of all the facts the political situation in Germany bids fair to become troublesome, if not critical, in the near future.

## SHAKSPERE AND THE FRENCH ACTOR OF TODAY

JULIA R. TUTWILER.

The first two actors I remember seeing were Charlotte Cushman and Maggie Mitchell. Memory focuses them in the same night, so I suppose Maggie Mitchell must have played in the after-piece. I don't think I could have been more than six years old at the time, but, strange to say (and perhaps it is the greatest tribute that an actor could ask), while I remember that my real enjoyment of the evening was Maggie Mitchell, I can recall nothing of the comedy in which she played except a garden wall and a pretty boy climbing a ladder; though I have only to close my eyes and Wolsey lives again in Charlotte Cushman. The picture is so vivid that I could describe the great cardinal's robes and show you his very trick of gesture—I can see his play of feature and almost hear the intonation of that bitter cry :

. . . . “O, Cromwell, Cromwell,  
Had I but served my God with half the zeal  
I served my king, he would not in mine age  
Have left me naked to mine enemies.”

And it is Shakspere's conception of that complex, impressive character clothed upon with the flesh and blood of a great dramatic art that moves through history for me today.

Within the call of memory, unrolls a list of actors as diverse in their gifts, schools and ideals as Charlotte Cushman and Maggie Mitchell; of many countries, and of numbers to be counted only by opportunity. For the genuine play-goer is not the man who cares for one school or class; with him, “the play's the thing”, which I take it means just as much the way it is presented as the order to which it belongs. Comedy and tragedy, when we have brought play-going to an art, are alike to us the expression of individual genius through which the actor puts into the characters of the playwright whatever

soul he divines there, and his own personality and individuality—those natural and peculiar traits which make a human creature attractive and repellent and what his handling of life and life's handling of him have fashioned out of them.

This personality and individuality so color the actor's interpretation as sometimes to read antagonistic characters into the same rôle. Sarah Bernhardt's and Maude Adams's interpretations of "L'Aiglon" are an interesting illustration of this, as they are also of the other formative influence upon dramatic impersonation—the influence of racial and national characteristics. It is this influence of heredity and tradition which makes the association of Shakspere and the French actor of today a relation provocative of serious study and unmalicious laughter, and a comparative glance at three of the most notable Hamlets of our time worth a moment's while.

Some years ago it was my good fortune to attend the presentation of "Hamlet" at the Comédie Française that two weeks later crowned Mounet-Sully "the greatest Hamlet of the modern stage". Among the incidents that stand out in my recollection of the evening are, first of all, my unseemly laughter before I discovered that it was a serious performance taken seriously by the audience that packed the house; secondly, my ejaculation—hastily smothered under the irate stare and scarcely suppressed expletives of the auditors on my right and left hand—when Mounet-Sully, with a whoop—there is no other word for it—snatched his cap from his head and waving it frantically leaped from the stage at the close of the soliloquy, "to be or not to be . . ."; next, the cheaply modern fan—the only anachronism in the stage properties—used in the scene with the players and the king, and the gesture with which Hamlet tore a hole in it large enough for one eye and the expression of the eye after its insertion therein. And, then, in enraging succession, the French actor's brutality to the queen in the portrait scene, his treatment of the Polonius murder incident, and the coarseness of his conception of Hamlet's feeling for Ophelia.

It was a year later that I saw for the sixth or seventh time the Hamlet of Edwin Booth. The performance flashed

a limelight of contrast upon the French actor's confident grasp of external conditions and their accompanying aspects and the sensitive appreciation of psychological difficulties, the unerring insight into the beauties and defects of Hamlet's nature which stamped Booth the interpreter of Shakspere. It also offered me the clue to why Mounet-Sully, who is a great artist in "Ruy Blas", "Hernani", "Oedipe", "Fourgerons", is an ineffective amateur in "Hamlet".

Of the versatility and dignity of the Frenchman's art, there can be no question. The difficulty lies in the fact that while Hamlet might be the product of existing conditions, he is in temperament and intellect essentially a German; and the intellectual traditions and racial instincts and heredities which have made the French language an art, and French fiction what it is today are directly antagonistic to the interpretation of Teutonic or "Anglo-Saxon" characteristics. The passion which makes the Frenchman at once fickle and determinate has as little in common with the philosophic, introspective sentimentalism of the German as either has with the judicial reasoning of the Englishman. Both are more in sympathy with the American, because in him the continual conflict between the energy of feeling and the energy of reason results in a responsiveness to the emotional and immediate that in no way dulls his perception of the logical consequences of his responsiveness, or his faculty for getting the most, psychologically, out of a situation.

Inherencies of race and nation lend value to Creston Clarke's interesting, if unfinished, impersonation of Hamlet, and unite with Booth's scholarly reading and dramatic art psychological grasp and emotional power; and are, also, the secret of all that offends and amuses in the Hamlets of Sarah Bernhardt and Mounet-Sully. The training in classical traditions and antecedents which every actor in France must receive before he is admitted into the Comédie Française makes it comparatively easy for a man of more than ordinary talent to play widely different rôles, provided they fall within the scope of classical or romantic precedents. But in acting Hamlet there are no precedents. The impersonation must be an individual

interpretation, which is equivalent to saying that it is one plastic to the influence of racial inheritances.

This is why Bernhardt's Hamlet is a daring and brilliant defiance of Shakspere, and a revolt—I am almost tempted to say upon upon some sides a successful revolt—against the canons of Shakespearian interpretation; and why Bernhardt and Duse are not more entirely two distinct actors than are the Mounet-Sully of "Ruy-Blas" and the Mounet-Sully of "Hamlet". The intensity and directness that quicken into splendid life the clear-cut individuality of the Spanish lackey can not enter into the subtleties of a nature so dominated by shifting purposes that any definite action is impossible. The flaw in Rodin's "John the Baptist" is the crux of Bernhardt's and Mounet-Sully's Hamlet—he is a Frenchman. The difference between the two is that Bernhardt's is essentially original, Mounet-Sully's essentially grotesque; the formative idea of both impersonations that Hamlet is unmistakably and violently mad.

It is in this initial stage of conception that the divergence of the French and American actors begins—Booth's Hamlet is in that overwrought, nervous state which, at any moment, may slip into madness, but intellectually he is still himself; Polonius, the courtiers, the king, are justly weighed. His madness is either feigned, or his vagaries of word and manner are momentary flashes of unreason over a mind unusually strong and clear—the result of moral and emotional upheaval rather than of intellectual. Mounet-Sully draws no distinction between the intellectual and the moral and emotional.

The first interview with the ghost reveals each actor's conception of Hamlet's nature, character, and state of mind. Mounet-Sully's terror is frantic, and vents itself in hysterical cries and wild dashes from one end of the stage to the other. Into the speech beginning:

"Angels and ministers of grace, defend us!  
Be thou a spirit of health, or goblin damned" . . .

he reads personal fear and selfish absorption in the immediate effect upon his own future of the revelations made by his

father's spirit. With the aid of the French translation, and extravagance of voice and gesture he makes petty and discordant the magnificent outburst: "Oh, all you host of heaven! O, earth! What else?" and loses sight of, or, has never marked, the point, fine as a spark, that Shakspere draws in,

"Yea, from the tables of my memory  
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,  
All sows of books, all forms, all pressure's past,  
That youth and observation copied there;  
And thy commandment all alone shall live  
Within the book and volume of my brain,  
Unmixed with baser matter: Yes, by Heaven!  
O, most pernicious woman!  
O, villain, villain, smiling, damnéd villain!  
*My tables,—meet it is I set it down*  
That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain;  
At least, I am sure it may be so in Denmark."

Booth utters one strangled groan and, then, except for the trembling in limb and voice stands fixed in his place by the horror of the vision. The superstition of the time struggles with the incredulity of a skeptical mind—he fears because he believes, he defies his fear and distrusts the apparition because he disbelieves; and it is eventually a love greater than consequences that follows the beckoning hand. Mounet-Sully, from the first moment of his appearance on the stage, is in the grasp of hatred, suspicion, and personal jealousy; it is out of these lower elements that his madness springs; it is this unconditioned state that vulgarizes the scene with Ophelia and brutalizes the interview with the queen in which Booth's Hamlet, with a flood of reviving tenderness, at the sight of his mother's abasement, is more than half ready to believe and forgive, and even to forget the vacillating purpose to which his father's apparition recalls him. Where Mounet-Sully rehearses bitterly the counts against the woman who has disgraced him and the queen who has betrayed him, Booth suffers the higher pang of moral loss in the mother once reverenced and still beloved. In the soliloquy, Booth's cry is for self-immolation, which he is too inde-

cisive ever to reach; Mounet-Sully's words are the incoherent utterances of a madman.

But no scene brought the ideals and method of the two actors into as sharp contrast as the tapestry scene. Mounet-Sully makes merry with Ophelia and leaves us in no doubt as to the coarseness of his passion or the violence of his madness. Booth flashes before us an all unsatisfied love and the next moment makes us half doubt the evidence of our eyes and ears. Mounet-Sully's madness makes his aggressive passion unreal; Booth's tortured soul vainly endeavors to hide itself. Mounet-Sully's love for Ophelia is born of her beauty and grace of person; Booth's love is the idealized passion which seeks in the flesh guarantee of intellectual and spiritual beauty. Mounet-Sully's jealousy, passion, and hatred are unalterable; Booth yields to every fluctuation of feeling incident to love, despair, and a soul distraught. Mounet-Sully's "Soft you, now! The fair Ophelia. Nymph in thy orisons be all my sins remembered," is a taunt; his "Are you fair?" an insolent comment upon her person; the whole of, "Get thee to a nunnery," reeks with passion and insinuation.

"Soft you, now!

The fair Ophelia: Nymph, in thy orisons  
Be all my sins remembered,"

falls from Booth's lips with the tenderness of a lover and the reverence of a man in the presence of his highest ideal of womanhood. The bitterness with which he answers Ophelia's

"Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty?"

Hamlet. "Ay, truly; for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd, than the force of honesty can translate beauty into his likeness. This was sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof", ends in uncontrollable grief, "I did love you once."

This, and the succeeding speeches which Booth makes a wild reaching out to save Ophelia from the corruption of the world, an outcry against fate, his own nature, the cruelty of his doom, a gradually dawning terror of himself and a creep-

ing suspicion of his own sanity, Mounet-Sully plays in the same unmodulated key. Physical cowardice and the in consequence of madness prevent the Hamlet of the French actor from killing the king. It is the moral Argus within the Hamlet of Booth, the fatal Erasmus vision, an intellectual vacillation which turns aside his sword and fools today's delay with the promise of tomorrow.

While Mounet-Sully's Hamlet and the Hamlet of Sarah Bernhardt are equally French and equally a contrast to the dignity and subtlety of Booth's interpretation, the two impersonations are curiously alike. The robust madman of Mounet-Sully has little in common with the petulant, frivolous, bitter, superstitious boy, wholly and irretrievably mad, who chucks Polonius under the chin and afterwards spurns his dead body with his foot. Amazing and disconcerting as Bernhardt's Hamlet is he takes complete possession of you. When he meets his fellow students like a light-hearted student himself, when he flirts with Ophelia in one moment and adores her the next, when he pours out upon his mother a passion of tenderness, when he uses the players to catch his uncle, the king, when he dies as only Bernhardt knows how to die—whatever he says, or does, or is, he absorbs you to the exclusion of everybody on the stage and in spite of the prejudices and precedents with which you are unanswerably equipped. In the scenes with the queen he is incomparable, and for the boyish flippancy of the meeting with Guildenstern and Rosencrantz the actor has unconsciously followed the lines laid down by that fine and scholarly interpreter of Shakspere, Forbes Robertson. The scenes with the king's ghost are as impossible of description as they are absurd.

When you get away from the theatre, you remember all your counts against Bernhardt's desecration—you probably call it of Shakspere and of your own ideas of Shaksperean interpretation, but while you are there she does with you as she chooses. And this, it seems to me, proves the soul she finds in Hamlet hers by right. Not the divine right by which she claims *La Tosca* or *Camille*, but the human right of an individual creation strong enough to give

us something which in the face of broken laws and distorted vision deserves the distinction of being classed with the remarkable Hamlets not of the French stage, but of the world's stage.

To see Bernhardt's Hamlet is to be convinced of the influences and limitations of race characteristic, but it is also to see a virile and original impersonation; to see Mounet-Sully's Hamlet is to writhe under the travesty of Shakspere. One is as far removed as the other from the perception and presentation of the elusive, contradictory, almost impalpable psychological suggestions of Booth's Hamlet.

Gifts and art are no more lacking in the French impersonations than gifts and art alone constitute the greatness of the American interpretation. Race and nationality play no queerer tricks upon us than those which everybody sees except ourselves. The Teutonic ineffectiveness of Hamlet is so opposed to the moral genius of the French that it blinds Mounet-Sully and Bernhardt to the underlying emotional and moral susceptibility which are the source of it, and to which the American is intimately alive because his grasp of logical conditions and consequences is grafted upon a moral vision that pierces the divergent and interlacing fibres of life's problems, and upon a capacity for profound sentiment as well as for profound passion.

## THE ART OF LETTER-WRITING.

ROBERT ADGER BOWEN.

The letter-writer, no less than the poet, must be born—he can not be made. The letter-writer, not the writer of letters, for between the two there is the vastness of difference that exists between the poet and the poetaster. No man can say exactly what quality it is that makes the fine and yet the varied charm of what is known as epistolary style. It is not necessarily great intellectuality, for oftentimes great intellects fail signally to write good letters: it is not skill or technique in the use of intricate phraseology, for nothing more surely galvanizes a letter into lifelessness: it is not profound scholarship, for the least scholarly woman will frequently write delightful letters: it is not the giving of news, or the story-teller's instinct, or the capacity for seeing and reproducing dramatic incident. What it is not is easy to specify: what it is eludes analysis as does the charm of human character—and for the same reason. In no other kind of literary production is the element of personality so prominent, so pervasive, so off its guard against the conventions alike of thought and expression. For letters written with an eye to the public may be ruled out from the high plane upon which the letter written by the natural letter-writer takes its assured place. The least turning aside from the individual to the general works its destruction in this subtle art, more fatally far than the hampering of verse form does with the spontaneousness of the poet's fancies, and that because while all poetry breathes through an artificial form of words, the slightest conscious effort at style ruins the sincerity of the letter.

Yet the real letter must not be without form, being as it is a literary product. This medium is infinitely varied, broadly differentiated, plastic to the lightest play of mood, or emotion, or passion. More than spoken words, the letter takes on the echo of finality. It is none the less a work of art in that it is

the result of unstudied ease, the shading of words with an instinctively nice feeling for changes of thought, the deft touch that tells much in a few phrases, sometimes in one illuminative, flashing word, the epitome of a wide range of experience.

Letter-writing in this sense is an occupation that calls for that rare coin of the modern world, abundant leisure, leisure not only for the writer, but an appreciative leisure on the part of the recipient which may react upon the sensibility of the writer. The woful decline in the worth of correspondence of a social nature at this day is due in part to the lack of the instinct for leisure which has become a characteristic of the times. The inane note scrawled over fashionable paper, smelling of the sachet and soulless convention, has replaced the letter of the woman of an older day, neatly written and containing evidences of heart and head, while the masculine letter of purely friendly type has all but ceased to exist. The old-time courtesy that demanded a reply to every written communication is often evaded to-day upon the plea of more pressing duty, or frequently by the bare declaration: "I never write letters now." Even when a letter wins another letter in return, it is only too common to find that it is in no sense a reply or a fair exchange of epistolary courtesy. Questions remain unanswered, assertions of personal interest go unnoticed, statements of polite regard are ignored, and the writer of the original letter rests with the comfortable assurance that he has given bread for a stone.

What our age has lost in its inability to produce among its men of letters,—the term is used in its more specific sense,—such writers of social correspondence as were, in the past century, Byron and Cowper and Charles Lamb, it is not pleasant to consider. The list of eminent letter-writers among the noted names of English literature is a curiously limited one when we remember the high attainment in that delightful pastime so frequent in earlier years. The letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague and of Lady Hester Stanhope derive their fame not so much from their qualities as correspondence as from their record of travel and adventure, while even the letters of Pope, of Scott, and the passion-fraught Keats, are read more

in the light of biography than as literature in themselves. Burns, when he forgot his public and his fame, contributed materially to the small amount of the literature of letters, and Byron later on flashed the lustre of his genius in letters that can not always be free from the charge of insincerity, but which are often brilliant and convincing. It was reserved, however, for two of the gentlest spirits of English literature, both of them of exquisite sensibility, both of them overshadowed by the same dread affliction, to take their place as the foremost writers of letters among their kind. Out of the uneventful course of his life, brightened by his books, his friends, his pets, and the nature that he loved, Cowper wove the magic spell that makes his letters so fascinating, and Lamb, tied to the hated routine of his desk in a London counting-house, loosened the delicate play of his humor through a correspondence that is stained with the fine hues of his personality.

The wonderful development of the newspaper may also be looked upon as a very potent factor in the decline of letter-writing as an art. The letter no longer can be regarded as primarily the carrier of news. The expression of one's opinion about great contemporary events is, indeed, still left to the letter, but how much of an incentive to friendly correspondence is lost by the fact that every part of the world knows of important happenings almost simultaneously is not to be lightly estimated. The stimulus to writing that comes from having "news" to impart is done away with, and it is not always that even the gifted letter-writer can afford to lose that incitant. It is only the correspondent *par excellence* who knows how to attain the perfection of his art by writing delightfully of nothing, if, indeed, that may be called nothing which affords him a means for the employment of his delicate perceptions. For the saving quality of the genuine letter is in the ability of its author to put himself into it. If he writes about trivial things he does it with a grace of interest that disguises the triviality. He must not make his little fishes talk like whales, but he should, as Goldsmith himself knew how to do, make his letters of perpetual interest because of the aptness of their style to the simplicity of their thought. This is the bound,

too frequently a discouraging one, that the growth of the newspaper tends to emphasize, narrowing the horizon of the letter-writer, as it were, to the little things that "are not worth writing about."

A curious reactionary influence is exercised also by the reduction of postal charges, and the increasing facilities for the exchange of letters. Now that we may write so often for so little cost, and with so little loss of time between composition and receipt, what is the use of the old-fashioned care and elaboration! We dash off a note to catch the next mail: we no longer sit down and take up our pen to write, as they did of old, in and out of fictitious journals. The effect is far-reaching. Letters, to a great extent, cease to be considered as of any moment. Ten short, hurriedly written notes replace the long and carefully penned document of the days when the delivery of letters was a slow matter and one of rare intervals. For quantity we have exchanged quality, here as elsewhere.

Still another modern invention has gone far to influence adversely this refined art. A heavy debt lies at the door of the man who first turned to the use of the type-writing machine for purposes of personal correspondence. Here, indeed, is a subject worthy of the gentle scorn of an Elia and the fierce invective of a Junius! We have seen many gods forsaken and the places of their sacrifice desecrated by what we call "the spirit of the times," but what is to be said of the man who, in a friendly letter, abjures the significance of the individuality of handwriting for the smirk meretriciousness of the typewritten page! He is the man who would break the backs of another man's favorite volumes, shatter the illusions of the innocent, rip up the back the repented follies of one's youth—in short do anything that a blunted sensibility may lead a man to do. There is but one thing worse that he can do, and he probably will do this thing—dictate his letter through a stenographer, afterwards to be transcribed upon the machine—straining the bouquet of his thought and fancy through the sieve of an alien mind, and offering it for the pure wine of his spirit. To such strange uses are we brought by the bane of commercialism!

The fact is not overlooked that there are men who will affirm that they can dictate their literary work through a stenographer with as much ease of composition and as much verve of style as they can write it, and while this may be true so far as regards the production of work which is the result of a full mind, the squeezing of the sponge of one's mentality, it never will be true as regards the writing of the personal letter. The stenographer has been reduced almost to the status of a machine, but even the most well-drilled of these excellent instruments still retains the dimensions of a personality. This personality can not be ignored, however much the dictator may have trained himself to its company. The history, the essay, the art critique, the sermon, may be transfused through it and come out none the worse, but the fine aroma of the personal letter will be hopelessly destroyed. The stenographer becomes an audience, frequently an apathetic one, not seldom an antagonistic one. The flow of thought is no longer between *you* and *me* alone; the sparkle of fancy dies at its source, or else becomes as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal; confidences of intuition cease to exist. One might as well hope to utter the exquisite commonplaces and the delicious rhapsodies of love in the presence of a chaperon! The employment of the typewriter in direct composition is not much better, its legibility of work not at all atoning for the loss to the recipient of the letter of the characteristics of the author's handwriting, even if none of his fancy is staccatoed by the process of the machine-made work. This is no disparagement of the printed page: nor, indeed, a question of the printed page at all. The printed page is the crystallization of the spontaneous flow of the author's thought and fancy, the "Grecian Urn" of his fleeting but eternal breath, that which shall

"remain in midst of other woe  
Than ours, a friend to man."

However impossible it may be to define the qualities that go to the intellectual make-up of the genuine letter-writer, there is one element which is fundamental. A good letter may be one written by one who dislikes to write letters; one who dis-

likes to write may even, by force of intellect or will, always compose good letters, but this is not what is meant by the elegant art of letter-writing. That art demands primarily not alone an ease of outward form but an underlying love of the thing, a natural recourse to the pen as a means of enjoyment, as a solace, as an unpremeditated expression of thought or emotion. It is the presence of this factor in the constitution of the writer that so often makes the letters of people not superlatively intellectual or learned far exceed in grace and charm the labored efforts of minds of profound attainments. Women are often excellent letter-writers. The little things that go to the making of the perfect letter are appreciated by them, the trifles of the outer world no less than the trifles of the inner world of human affections and endeavor. Nothing kills the life of a letter more surely than the conscious or unconscious feeling on the part of the writer that it is not worth while to write this or that. Absolute play of pen is needed, for the quality of style in letter-writing, evasive as it is, tends rather to discursiveness than to conciseness, and is governed only in a general way by the canons controlling other kind of composition.

Since our Southern states have come to the front so prominently in contemporary literature, much has been written of their old-time gifts of oratory, which before the war took its place as the most usual outlet of the intellectual life of the section. There was another manifestation of culture, however, which has not often been pointed out. The Southerners were letter-writers. There were several causes that went to the fostering of this trait. Much of the population dwelt upon widely separated plantations communication between which was not always an easy matter, and the exchange of what may be looked upon as an essentially domestic correspondence became an established convention. This was further abetted by the fact of the large kinship of most Southern families, in the same state and throughout the South. An informal note, perfect in its ease and *naïve* satisfaction with events of local, even of purely family importance, came to be as common a means of social intercourse as the present day formal call of our thickly populated cities. The mails were not depended upon: often

they did not exist. There was always the negro messenger, too prone, it must be admitted, to carry the note in the inside lining of his hat. Nothing was ever sent from one house to another, whether from the breakfast table, the library, or the garden, without an accompanying note, a note which generally took on the proportions of a letter, sure of a welcome and a repetition of every bit of its homely contents. When the letter itself was resorted to, it expanded into a thing of facile movement, frequently embodying apt quotations from favorite classics, not necessarily English ones, if a masculine letter, and filled with quaint and natural, if somewhat flowery passages of philosophy, or moralizing, or exquisite descriptions. When the war came, a chapter of the South's history which the outside world has not yet read—may never read—was written by its women in letters that the stress of the time swept into tragic utterance. While its men, almost to a man, fought, the women of the South worked, and wept, and wrote letters and journals. To this day many of them write only the old-time letter, as different a thing from the angular note of the woman of fashion of the time as is the fragrance of fresh lavender from the reek of patchouli or musk.

It is a searching test that the letter sometimes puts upon the culture of the writer. As the wearing of the dress-suit in costume is said to measure a man's ability to look the gentleman, so the writing of a letter may be taken as the crucial gauge of a man's intellectual refinement. How often has one's preconceived regard for an acquaintance been shattered by the receipt of a written communication! It need not begin "Friend So and So" to send the shock of disagreeable enlightenment along one's diaphragm;—that apostrophe, indeed, is the fatal disclosure that hangs the professional crêpe and violets upon the closed door of further congeniality. The enlightenment comes in little nothings, the turn of an expression, the lack of a something that may be apparent many times between conventional address and subscription. It does not at all lie in dearth of ideas or even in awkwardness in expressing them. It often lies in glib sentences. It is an aroma, a distillation, a presence to be felt. Many a man who faces the

world of social superficiality with a good grace goes down in utter ruin when he comes to write a polite letter. If the gentility of manners may be recognized by its table decorum, the trade mark of intellectual refinement is to be found in the form and expression of a man's friendly correspondence. There is no surer social pitfall for the commonplaceness of his nature.

Though the art of letter-writing is not to be learned positively, there is yet a negative means of approach. Let a man discover what good letters are, and, if his sensibility be arable at all, he will not write bad ones. There is even a certain training of some of those faculties generally loved by the individual which may go far to give him a stock in trade. He may cultivate the finer flavor of his egotism until it glows into altruism; he may polish his sense of humor until it scintillates into wit, and shed over the cold brilliancy of his wit the genial warmth of his humor; he may study himself in many ways, and write of himself in one way—with discretion, for it is to be repeated that the soul of the letter is personality; but to become more than the merely good writer of letters he must fall in love with his letter-writing, and then forget his means, and write because of the joy of it.

## PERMANENT GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

New York now has the opportunity of so strongly entrenching a clean and efficient administration as practically to guarantee permanent good government in this city. It also has the opportunity of reversing its decision of two years ago and restoring Tammany Hall and its régime of public plunder.

It will be at least interesting to the student of popular government to see what use the citizens of New York will make of this opportunity. Of course a single decision, or, for that matter, a dozen decisions, would not prove absolutely that the people do not want good government. Too many elements enter into the decision, and some really minor question may operate to defeat the real purpose and desires of the people. At the last they may be influenced by prejudice or temporary resentment, and take a step that they would recognize on the morrow as opposed to their higher interests. But after two years of experiment with a clean and efficient administration, if this city should restore Tammany Hall to power, it would certainly register itself, even if only for the sake of another municipal government. Such a course would be a stout argument against the theory that the people really want cleanliness and efficiency in their public officers.

It is unfortunate, from some points of view, that so large a part of our life is taken up with preparations for elections ; but this is a part, and a very essential part, of the education for good citizenship. It is a part of that vigilance which is the price of liberty. From the very moment that Mayor Low entered upon the discharge of his duties, he has been on trial before the jury of voters. Every official act and many a private act of his has doubtless determined voters for or against him. It is to be hoped, however, that the good service done the city by this administration has been in the nature of a civic education of the people, and that the administration has won rather than lost support.

It is possible that a large number of voters have not yet

made up their minds upon the advantages or disadvantages of reform. Many others have swung this way or that, pendulum-wise, as they approved or disapproved the course of the administration. Certain others—and there is always a very large number of these—have been blown hither and thither by every change of policy, or by every gust of passion or mistrust. It is probable that if the support of the better element of the independents is again won, as it was two years ago, Mr. Low will be triumphantly elected Mayor of New York. But the decision rests now, as it did in his first election, with the large body of independents who will be influenced by a careful study of the government's record and by a careful consideration of the pledges of continued good service.

There is always a conflict between those who favor good government and those who favor what is known as an "open" city. There is no doubt that many so-called good citizens are willing to have an "open" city, if it will only bring crowds of pleasure seekers with money to spend. The belief is too general that vice makes a city attractive, and therefore leads to its prosperity. This is the view of Tammany Hall and its supporters. They may gloss over the sentiment as they like, to pacify their own consciences, but it is the same principle at bottom. A "gay" city, in the sense in which Tammany and its followers would use the word, may attract great crowds of pleasure seekers; but it can never attract a great commerce. Paris is the "center of a world's desire" and the market of the world's pleasures; but it is a city of pleasure only, where even its magnificent art is made to minister to the grosser desires of the multitude. London has outstripped it as a great metropolis; New York, centuries younger, has passed it in solid prosperity and influence; and even the young German cities are passing it in everything that makes for the prosperity and the well-being of the people.

But we are not Gallic in our taste for a life of mere pleasure; we demand something more. The American naturally wants a clean, wholesome government. Many cities in the country have recently set their houses in good order, and there is certainly evidence of better and sounder views on

municipal administration throughout the United States. New York has already established good governmental ideas, and the reform administration which represents them should be maintained and perpetuated.

There have been two complaints made by factions against the reform government. One of these is that the factions that elected Mr. Low have not received due recognition, or a due participation in the offices. Even Mr. Platt, who should have known better, took the position that the Republicans had not received appointments, and his statement was immediately shown to be utterly unfounded. The same result followed the assertion of the Germans that they had not been recognized. The truth is that Mr. Low has tried to find the best man for every position, and he could not, in the circumstances, partition out the offices in proportion to the size of the various factions. Mayor Strong attempted to do this, and sacrificed good government for an impossible program. It is also true, however, that in his appointments Mr. Low has been able to select many capable Republicans and Germans for the municipal service. It is beneath statesmanship, however, to base the support of good, clean government upon the low plane of equal distribution of offices. To do so would reduce the reform administration at once to the level of the spoils administration of Tammany Hall.

The other complaint is that the fusion administration has done little in the way of carrying out its promises. Elsewhere in this number\* we give an extract from a pamphlet published by the "Citizens' Union," showing what the reform administration has accomplished. It is sufficient to say here that it undertook to do two things: first, to reform the police department; second, to conduct the city government upon a business and not a political basis. That it has done this is clearly proved by its record, as is evident to every one who has followed with any degree of interest or care the upright and efficient course of Mayor Low's administration.

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\* See "Current Comment."

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

DR. WILLIAM D. CRUM, collector of customs at Charleston, S. C., has denied the authenticity of the report published in many papers and referred to in the August number of this magazine, that he justified the lynching of negroes. He says: "I have at all times done my utmost against lynching. I consider it murder." We take pleasure in quoting Dr. Crum's own words against this crime.

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THE POLICY ADOPTED by the New York building trades is the most important step that has yet been taken in the direction of industrial peace. Both laborers and employers are organized. They have agreed to recognize each other and have established a permanent court of appeals composed of an equal number of representatives from both sides. This experiment may have many difficult details, but it is eminently sound in principle.

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IT IS ENCOURAGING to note that the first case to come under the new arbitration plan in New York city has been satisfactorily disposed of. The plasterers made a demand for \$3.25 a day; the employers objected. The case was submitted to the permanent board of arbitration, and it was satisfactorily settled without having to call in an umpire. This shows what can be done when such problems are gone at in the right way.

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THE LIBERAL PARTY in England will find some difficulty in opposing the Chamberlain plan as a scheme of protection, since its advocates are now urging it as a scheme for freer, if not free trade. At present England has free trade only with the British Isles; the Chamberlain plan extends the area of freer trade by adding India and the colonies. This will extend the home market and give practically free trade for the supplies of nearly four hundred millions of people, about one-fourth of the human race.

JUDGE LOCHREN'S decision in the United States District Court at St. Paul in the Northern Securities Case is directly the reverse of the previous decision of the four Circuit Court Judges. This division of opinion within the United States court at least shows that the previous decision by no means represents all the good legal opinion on the subject. Judge Lochren's decision is really an encouraging ray of light on the subject and may prove a real contribution towards a rational as well as a legal decision on the merger matter.

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THERE ARE two ways of relieving a money stringency: one is to lessen the demand for money, the other is to increase the means of supply. The Boston *Herald* appears to prefer the former method, and advocates a revision of the tariff instead of a reform of "the currency." That is a little like killing the patient to cure the toothache. To hack up the tariff now would surely lessen the demand for money for legitimate investment, though it might increase its demand for charity. The *Herald's* plan was tried in 1893, and it worked with such fatal accuracy that it will hardly be tried again in 1903. Better wait a little, neighbor, till we forget.

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CONGRESSMAN BAKER seems to be troubled with an overdose of political purity. When the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad sent him an annual pass, as it does to many members of congress, he returned it, apparently fearing it might prejudice his vote in congress. If Mr. Baker was weak enough to be so easily influenced, that was surely the proper thing for him to do. Mr. Baker did not stop there, but paraded the fact in the press, which lays him open to the suspicion that his object was quite as much to advertise his virtue as to practice it. Refusing to receive a railroad pass is a very cheap way of asserting the integrity of one's character.

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DR. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, one of the stanchest friends of the labor unions, has at last become convinced that an employers' union is necessary if we are to have a rational industrial peace. Like every real observer, he has come to see that

mere fighting between employers' and laborers' unions results mostly in "rashness" on the one side and "pig-headedness" on the other. Mr. Brooks contends that "We never shall get real arbitration and the consequent education that goes with it until the labor organization meets the employers' organization." This is undoubtedly the sound position. Both forces must be organized, and the organization of each recognized by the other as a means of negotiation and bargain making.

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THE PRESIDENT's letter to the Governor of Indiana against lynching and lawlessness was a most welcome stimulus to law and order. There may be extraordinary occasions when lynching is excusable, if not justifiable, but when indulged in for mere personal revenge it rapidly leads to mob law and murder. Lynching is no longer limited to negroes who assault white women, nor even to the Southern states, but it is rapidly extending throughout the country and is creating a mania for mob law. If we are to have personal safety and civilized institutions, mob law must disappear, and lynching be made a capital crime. Otherwise it will soon be as necessary to protect society against lynchers as against the crimes of the lynched.

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THE PROSECUTION of a number of walking delegates in New York city for extorting blackmail from employers is a wholesome move. If these men are convicted, it will be a great step towards eradicating one of the most degrading influences in the labor movement. These walking delegates have become a constant menace both to decent unionism and legitimate industry. The worst feature of this case is the fact that the unions are prone to defend these blackmailing representatives. This is partly due to the immense power these walking delegates have acquired over the members of the union. Like the political boss the walking delegate has become a tyrant in the union as well as a blackmailer outside.

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ALTHOUGH THE petition to the Tsar, calling his attention to the Kishineff massacre has not been literally presented, it has produced practically the same result as if it had been. The dis-

cussion of the subject and the official request that the Tsar receive the petition, which request sets forth the salient facts recited in the petition itself, had all the effect, though not the form of literally presenting the petition. It caused the matter to be discussed throughout Christendom. It informed the Russian government of the sentiment of both the American people and the American government regarding the Russian outrage. It practically served notice on the Tsar that the civilized world would not always stand mutely by and see Russia perform outrages that would not be tolerated in Turkey or China. This has had the effect of inducing, shall we say, the Tsar's government to express its regret at the affair and to proceed to punish the offenders, and also to grant more liberal conditions to the Jews.

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THE PRESIDENT did well in the Miller case to stand upon the rule laid down by the Coal Strike Commission, that no person shall be refused employment or discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in a labor organization. That is a sound rule of policy both for government and private employers. It is no part of the duty of employers to see to it that workingmen are members of labor unions. It is the part of the employer to obtain competent workmen. It is solely the function of the union to induce workmen to be members of the labor organizations. If unions can not become strong without coercion either on the part of the laborer or employer then they ought not to be strong. The growth of labor organizations should depend on their usefulness to the members. In other words, the unions should grow by the benefits they bestow upon their members and the useful services they render to laborers, and by these alone. The rule laid down by the Coal Commission on this point is consistent with personal freedom and with the rights of the organization as well as with sound principles of economics.

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TOM L. JOHNSON, Mayor of Cleveland, is evidently preparing for battle this fall. The real fight this year will be for the legislature, which will elect the next United States Senator. Mr. Johnson would like to be next Democratic candidate for

President ; if that is impossible, he would like to go to the United States Senate. In either case the means to accomplish his end is to control the next legislature. In Ohio, therefore, the fight this fall is between Senator Hanna and Mayor Johnson.

During the past few years Senator Hanna has developed very rapidly in the characteristics of sane national statesmanship. He has steadily gained in public confidence and respect. He has acquired a national influence ; he is sound on the money question, on the corporation and tariff questions and rationally liberal on the labor question.

Johnson, on the other hand, is essentially a fanatic ; though a millionaire whose millions were made by monopoly, he has degenerated into free silverite, single taxer, socialist, and free trader. To substitute Johnson for Hanna in the United States Senate would be a blunder about equal to having taken Bryan instead of McKinley.

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THE SCANDALS revealed in the post-office department is a striking example of the government's management of a large business. Nobody, not the rankest partisan, suspects for one moment that Charles Emory Smith is guilty of the slightest lack of integrity. It would be difficult, throughout this whole country, to find a more thorough, upright, frank, straightforward man than he. But the post-office is a colossal concern in which a great number of appointments are to be made and large business arrangements entered into and carried out. The head of the department is there only a few years at the most. No man of ability can afford to stay long. It is run as government affairs are run, by assistants, and appointments are made by log-rolling and political influence. It is almost impossible to keep such an immense affair efficient and clean. Had the post-office been a private corporation, adequate salaries would have been paid for responsible positions, and merit would have been the basis of service and promotion, and such a web of corruption, the extent of which is not yet known, would have been practically impossible. If all the great industries of the country were managed in the way the post-office is (generally at a loss), there would soon be bankruptcy, dishonesty and general disas-

ter in business and in public morals. Yet the post-office is the one example to which we are constantly referred as illustrating the superiority of socialism.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has rendered a real service to the country in ordering the re-enstatement of Mr. Miller. When the labor union assumed the power, which in this case they actually exercised, of commanding a discharge of a government official by expelling him from the union, it reaches a degree of arrogance and despotism that ought not to be tolerated a moment. It is bad enough to have the boss politicians dictate government appointments, but to have government employes subjected to the approval or disapproval of the labor union is to make American citizenship depend on the membership of a labor organization. Anything worse than that is difficult to imagine. It is well enough that the government should pay union prices, indeed it ought to ; but that the test to eligibility to employment by the government should consist in having a union card, ought not to be considered for one moment. In reinstating Mr. Miller, the President has laid down the only sound rule upon which the government could act ; namely : that while membership in a labor union should be no bar to employment by the government, it should not be an essential qualification. The government shops should be open shops. Every competent citizen should be eligible for employment regardless of what church or what political organization or what labor union he may or may not belong to. If the printers order a strike in this case they will commit the blunder of a generation. This is a case where President Roosevelt can be trusted. He is not the man to back down at the dictation of a labor union, or, for that matter, of all the labor unions in the country ; and, standing firm in this position, he will have the support of the nation.

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MR. CARNEGIE has volunteered the announcement to England that if she adopts the preferential tariff recommended by Mr. Chamberlain she will get into a tariff war with the United

States in which she will meet sure defeat. To this premature announcement the London *Times* effectively replies:

We think more highly of Americans' instincts of fair play than to believe that an honest attempt to improve our own position without injuring theirs will call forth the indignation he (Mr. Carnegie) threatens us with. On the question of the Spanish war we remember that England had much more sympathy with American feeling than had Mr. Carnegie. It is just possible that he does not know quite everything about his countrymen now any more than then.

The *Times* has a clearer insight into the disposition of the American people than has Mr. Carnegie. Why should we retaliate on England merely because she adopts the American system in her dealing with her colonies? It is the eminently sensible thing to do. In doing this she is adopting the distinctive feature of American statesmanship. There would be nothing in this policy to the detriment of the United States as compared with other foreign nations. It proposes to give a preference in the English market to English products; i. e., the products of the British Empire. That is sound protective policy. This country is the greatest representative of that principle. For fifty years we have been urged to accept the English doctrine. We have refused, and our success has been so conspicuous that it has demonstrated the soundness of the doctrine; and, instead of our adopting the English doctrine, England is adopting ours. Is it likely that the American people will turn round and try to punish English by instituting special tariff discrimination against her because she has become converted to our doctrine? Oh, no! The London *Times* is right. This country has too high a sense of fair play to use our protective tariff merely to injure other countries.

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APROPOS OF Mr. Charles Emory Smith's relation to the post-office, the Springfield *Republican* insists that the real editor should have nothing to do with office holding. After saying many complimentary things about Mr. Smith, as everybody does, the *Republican* says:

The less real editors have to do with office holding the better. Theirs is important business, and when newspapers are made step-

ping stones to something else, the proceeding is unprofitable all around. There is no surer way for an editor to ruin his sense of proportion than for him to leave his chair for a public office. We would not be unkind in thus holding Mr. Smith up as an example, but he himself has done it, and the lesson is worth dwelling upon. It is high time that editors devoted to their profession began to defend it against all who would make it a convenience and not the opportunity for single-minded and most important public service. Those editors who have best served their day and generation, and produced the best and most influential newspapers, eschewed the pursuit of political office and the holding thereof, and devoted their full time and talents to making the newspaper. This calls for the best every man has to give, and for all of it.

There is much truth in this. It is practically impossible for the editor of real parts to give the public his best editorial service while holding a political office. The very fact of being part of the political administration creates personal responsibility for, and partisan loyalty to, the administration, which takes away the editor's real freedom. The great editors are political thinkers and students of economic and political principles. Their function is to discuss public affairs in the light of political philosophy, and not of partisanship. Remove the editor from the freedom of his editorial chair to a seat in the cabinet, to a diplomatic post, to a postmastership, or to any other political office, and he is practically sure to lose the character of the real editor. No more striking illustration of this can be found than the New York *Tribune*. The editor of that once powerful paper has become consumed with the desire to hold political office—to be vice-president, a member of the cabinet—any portfolio would do—or minister to England. The desire for office has become such an overpowering impulse with him that his paper has ceased to be a representative of political ideas or the leader of any important policy. But through the evident desire to earn a reward for services the *Tribune* has become a mere partisan camp follower. The real editor is a student of public affairs, a leader and educator of public opinion. That position in its highest and best sense is practically incompatible with political office holding.

## QUESTION BOX

### Should the Filipinos Have Free Trade with the United States?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In view of the appeal of the Filipinos for the withdrawal of tariff duties between the Philippines and this country, has the time come, or will it come soon, for the treatment of the archipelago, as well as our other recently acquired possessions, as integral parts of the United States for the purposes of tariff duties? M. C.

Logically, there is no economic or moral reason why the Philippines should not be put on the same trade footing with this country as Porto Rico and Hawaii. Free trade should not be adopted with any of them; but if with any, why not with all?

This is one of the results of the annexation blunder. It was a mistake to take the Philippines at all. The question now is, Shall we be consistent or sensible? If we are consistent we must be very absurd, and if we are sensible we must be very inconsistent. To be consistent with what we have already done we should give to all these new possessions free native local government, with, at least, delegate representation in congress and free trade in our market. Yet to do this would be a political and economic absurdity.

We have already recognized the absurdity of extending the constitution to these peoples and giving them the right of self-government. We have been practically compelled to throw consistency to the winds and adopt paternal rule instead of popular government. The same is true of the economic aspect of the case. To be consistent we should give them all free trade. To be sensible we should maintain the same rational protection against them as if they were foreign countries. In all essential respects, both politically and economically, they are foreign countries. We have been compelled to treat them as politically distinct, and we ought to treat them as industrially distinct. The protection of our industries is no

less important than the protection of our institutions. Barbarism is as injurious to the one as it is dangerous to the other.

Clearly we can not afford to be consistent either in our political or economic treatment of the Philippines. If we would be sensible we should continue a rational system of protection. We should not permit the blunder of annexing the Philippines to force us into committing a series of blunders merely to be consistent.

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### May Labor "Strike" Against the Government as an Employer?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Has organized labor the right to strike against the government? Should the government confer with organized labor, as a private employer should in the same situation?

D. W.

Organized labor has all the rights when working for the government that it has when working for private concerns. When employing labor, as when buying goods, the government has no more rights than a private individual. As a purchaser in the open market, its only power to control is the price it will give. Laborers have the same economic and moral right to ask for more wages and strike if they do not get it when working for the government as when working for a private individual or a corporation. Were this otherwise, to deal with the government would involve a sacrifice of both personal and economic freedom.

With soldiers and sailors it is different. When they enter the service they agree to serve for a given length of time for a given price, and swear loyalty to the government in all its undertakings; hence, a strike by soldiers and sailors would involve both a breach of contract and disloyalty to the government. None of this applies to civil employees.

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### Our Trade Relations with Canada

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Henry Loomis Nelson, in the *North American Review*, takes the position that the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of preferential duties would injure us, inasmuch as it would lessen our

trade with Canada. He says that "if we should enter into reciprocal tariff relations with her, Canada would depend upon the United States for most of her imports of manufactured articles." Would such a resource break down Mr. Chamberlain's scheme? Even if it should, would be worth while to jeopard the principle of protection by undertaking reciprocal relations with Canada?

S. L.

Of course Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is intended to give England and the colonies the full benefit of reciprocal trade. The preferential duty may give England a little better position in the Canadian market, but it will do much more in giving Canada a better chance in the English market. England is the greatest wheat buyer, and wheat is what Canada has to sell. An advantage in the English market for her food stuffs would be worth more to Canada than any reciprocity with this country, even if we admitted her manufactures free.

Such a policy would injure us more than anybody. Our true policy is consistent protection—admit the products of all countries on the same basis, the difference in labor cost. Our tariff should never be used merely to injure another country. Such a policy should and generally would react upon this country.

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### Agriculture and Free Trade in England

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The Atlanta *Constitution* of July 14 had an editorial on "England's Struggle for Self-Support", in which the writer says:

"A singularly crass statement is made in GUNTON'S MAGAZINE in reply to a correspondent. It is to the effect that England's 'free trade' policy encouraged foreign markets for her manufactures, but it ruined her agriculture and has kept a large portion of her population in a state of stereotyped poverty."

"As a matter of historical fact the calculation was made so long ago as the time of Samuel Pepys that whenever the English people grew so numerous that the United Kingdom would have less than two acres of productive agricultural lands per capita the nation would cease to be self-supporting and compelled to seek the food of her people abroad. And that calculation was made upon the basis of the cheap order of living possible to the masses of that distant era.

"England came to that very condition at about the time predicted, and the corn law riots warned her that she must open her doors to the

food stuff producers of the world, notably America, and hence came the broadness and persistency of her free trade policy."

The article was quite lengthy and was in this vein throughout. I send this, thinking you may not have seen it, and would like to ask if the *Constitution's* editorial correctly represents the English case.

AN ATLANTA SUBSCRIBER.

The assurance with which many people can take liberties with facts when discussing English industrial conditions is truly astonishing. The purpose of the *Constitution's* article appears to be to controvert our statement that "England's free trade policy encouraged foreign markets for her manufactures, but it ruined her agriculture and has kept a large portion of her population in a state of stereotyped poverty." In support of its position, the *Constitution* cites Pepys's prophecy, but gives no facts to show that it was ever fulfilled; nor does it give any facts even tending to show that the free trade policy did not have the effect on agriculture that we stated.

It is a matter of common knowledge to those familiar with the history of nineteenth century England that since the free trade policy was adopted English agriculture has declined. The value of farm land has fallen during the last twenty-five years and the wages of English agricultural laborers have not risen with the progress of civilization, as in the manufacturing districts of England and the labor of this and other countries during this period. On the contrary, they are slightly lower than at the time of the first Reform Bill (1832).\* Thus poverty of the English farm laborers has verily "been stereotyped."

Instead of encouraging the extension of agriculture so as to bring all the tillable land in England and Ireland under cultivation, a large amount of land has actually gone out of cultivation in England during the last twenty-five years. Millions of acres of English land have been driven out of use\*\* by the free importation of American farm products. The *Constitution* says "the corn law riots warned her that she must open her doors to the food stuffs of the world, notably America." From

\*The facts on this point are given in another article in this number—"England and a Protective Tariff."

\*\*See Mulhall.

this one would be led to believe that there were riots throughout England demanding that the corn laws be repealed, and especially that American food stuffs should be admitted free. When and where did these "corn law riots" occur? What is the source of the *Constitution's* information? It must have confounded "corn law riots" with "bread riots", which are not at all the same. There were occasionally bread riots. It was not uncommon in times of business depression for the poor to turn out in mobs and demand "work or bread". Sometimes they would pillage the shops. These were called "bread riots".

But no such riots ever took place against the corn laws. The laborers who were likely to go hungry at such times were not in the anti-corn law movement; they were with the Chartists, who were opposed to or entirely indifferent to the corn law repeal.\*

The anti-corn law movement was a manufacturers' or middle-class movement, and not a laborers' movement at all.

It is true enough that England needed foreign food stuffs, and it is equally true that free trade lessened her home food supply and impoverished her farming population. Nor was free corn necessary to procure foreign food supply; that could have been procured just as well with moderate protection to domestic agriculture. The result would have been more domestic and fewer foreign food stuffs. The real secret of the free "corn" was not the lack of land to raise it, but cheap bread in order that manufacturers might get cheaper labor and thus the better compete for foreign markets.

The *Constitution* needs to brush up a little on the history and inwardness of the anti—"corn law" or "free trade" movement in England.

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### Is England threatened by the Colonies?

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Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Mr. G. B. Shaw, the English author, has presented a new view of the origin of Mr. Chamberlain's zollverein. He thinks it is practically an ultimatum from the colonies, which intend to form

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\*See *Lecture Bulletin* on English Social Reform Movements, Second Period, Vol. II, No. 20.

such a union with or without the co-operation of the United Kingdom. He says:

"The flood of patriotism which carried the government through the Boer war will probably turn to virulent Little Englandism when it is discovered that a revolver is being held to our own head by these ambitious and arrogant dominions and commonwealths that will no longer submit to be called our colonies."

Can the colonies exert upon England pressure sufficient to force her into such a scheme if she thinks it dangerous? Is it not more likely that Mr. Chamberlain has conceived this plan in order to bind the colonies to the motherland by the closest of all modern ties—that of profit?

N. S.

Mr. Shaw will have great difficulty in establishing the claim that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is anything like an ultimatum from the colonies. It is not at all improbable, however, that the idea may have arisen in the colonies, because, for some time at least, the colonies would get the greater benefit from the arrangement. England is the chief buyer of the world's bread stuffs, and the colonies, especially Australia and Canada, would, under the Chamberlain plan, have a preference over the other countries. It is quite probable that if the colonies should show anything like unanimity of demand for the Chamberlain scheme, England would accept it. England has two strong motives for accepting the Chamberlain scheme, one is the enlargement of what would practically be a home market for her products, and the other is the political solidifying of the empire.

It is altogether more probable, however, that the scheme originated with Mr. Chamberlain than that it came as anything like an ultimatum from the colonies. To give a larger home market and closer political interest to the British empire is a matter of transcendent importance to England, and this is what Mr. Chamberlain evidently had in mind.

## BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By William P. Trent, M.A., LL.D., Professor of English Literature in Columbia University. Cloth. \$1.40 net. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1903.

When it was known that Professor Trent had undertaken the task of writing a history of American literature, all who knew his fine attainments as a scholar were confident that he would produce the best book on the subject. The belief is proved well founded by the work before us, which is undoubtedly the most authoritative and in all respects the best history of American writers that has yet been published. Within its scope, that is from the earliest days of American history down to about 1865, this book will doubtless long remain the standard work of reference on the subject.

When we say this, we do not intend by any means to give unqualified praise to the work of Professor Trent. The writer of a history of American literature is seriously handicapped by many things, and by none so much as by the lack of literature itself. If this book had been entitled "A History of American Writers," it would have placed the result beyond criticism. But to call a book, dealing with the most trivial and ephemeral writers of a nation, "A History of Literature," is an attempt to put fine feathers upon very tame villatic fowl. As a matter of fact, there is very little of what we can call "American Literature." We are not precise in the use of the word "American," but use it as including all great or good literature produced by Americans, without regard to source and origin. But obviously the great mass of writings dealt with by Professor Trent can not show a warrant for being included in a history of "literature."

Of course, formative periods, and writers who, although they have created little good literature themselves, have yet aided in laying the foundations of literature, must be recognized; but there are very few of these, unfortunately, in our

literary history, and yet every book dealing with American literature is crowded with a muster-roll of insignificant dabblers in prose and rhyme.

The method followed is admirable in every way. The periods into which he divides our literary history are: The Colonial (1607-1764); the Revolutionary (1765-1788); the Formative (1789-1829); and the Sectional (1830-1865). All of these divisions are, we think, well named, except the last. We do not see why the adjective "sectional" is especially applicable to literary work in America within the period described.

Professor Trent seems to have done more work in the preparation of this book than had been done by any of his predecessors. Of course it was impossible in a book of this compass to give final judgments and estimates; but, as far as this could be done, the author has conscientiously awarded praise or blame with such fine judgment as will serve to make the future reading of American literary history far more productive and far more interesting. He seems to favor especially Jonathan Edwards, Franklin, Walt Whitman, Lowell, and Bryant, and perhaps Whittier. Whitman he seems to regard as a giant of American literature, as doubtless he was, uncouth savage as he could not help being. It is a mistake, however, to call him "Hellenic," for he is Hellenic only in frankness and in a certain hexameter quality of his verse. Whitman describes his own individual character exactly in his famous phrase, "free and flowing savage." He was a red Indian, not a Greek.

We do not think that Professor Trent has done justice either to Emerson or Poe. He does not seem to get at the real Emerson, who, while he was not a great master of prose or poetic style, was yet the master of the best thinking that has been done on the American continent. Of Poe he seems to appreciate the "morbidity" and gloom of his verse, but admits that he has produced the sweetest melody and possibly the most haunting music that has been created in America. Poe is not only the greatest poet of America, but is, perhaps, our only writer that ranks with the really great of the earth.

In this connection, it should be noted that Professor Trent, with singular oversight, omits all mention of Sidney Lanier, except in two brief phrases where he mentions "Corn" and speaks of him with equal brevity in reference to Bayard Taylor. This omission can not be ascribed to the limitations of the book. Lanier did enduring work in the criticism and poetry. He was a larger figure in literature than Bayard Taylor and many others to whom Professor Trent devotes pages.

One final criticism. Professor Trent does not seem to have worked out his own literary standards. For instance, of Poe as a writer of fiction, he says: "He is to be ranked with the great masters of the short story, with Boccaccio and Maupassant!" Now, Poe is distinctly one of the half-dozen short story writers of the world, and is ranked with de Maupassant, Kipling, and one or two others; but Professor Trent seems to think that a story that is short is the same thing as a short story; and does not recognize the very distinction that Poe made when he classified the short story as a distinct literary form. Boccaccio wrote short tales, but not short stories.

Again, in speaking of Poe's prose, he says that he is not to be ranked in prose with Scott, or Cooper, or Hawthorne. Was there ever before such a grouping to indicate style or power? Such examples only serve to betray the limitations of the writer, and when the reader expects a vista he encounters a jungle. However, as the author frankly admits, we are at too close range to our own writers "to judge them coolly."

In spite of these defects, which are really inherent in the subject, Professor Trent has succeeded in making a book, as we have said, that will prove a standard reference work on the subject. It is too replete with names, but this makes it all the more valuable as a work of reference. It suffers from inclusion rather than selection. While we should have preferred more judgments, or more material for judgments, we are glad to get a book that is so manifestly superior to its predecessors and which covers so fully and satisfactorily the history of American writers.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CENTURY. By John R. Dos Passos. Cloth; 242 pages. \$2.25 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1903.

Ever since the Spanish war and England's supposed friendliness toward us in that petty affair there has been much loose talk about some sort of "alliance," "league," or "union," between Great Britain and the United States. This vague sentiment Mr. Dos Passos crystallizes into a definite plan for the union of the people whom he calls "Anglo-Saxon." The book presents about everything that can be urged in favor of such a league, and is a valuable contribution toward the literature of a subject that makes an appeal to the imagination of all and does harm to no one.

By "Anglo-Saxon" the author doubtless means the people who speak English. Of course there is no such thing as an "Anglo-Saxon" people or race, and there never will be such a thing as an "Anglo-Saxon Century," unless Mr. Dos Passos will permit the extension of the term to embrace Teutons, Slavs, Latins, Chinese, and Japanese. The reasons for such a union of the English-speaking peoples are given by Mr. Dos Passos as follows:

We find that we are of the same family; we speak the same language; we have the same literature; we are governed substantially by the same political institutions; we possess similar laws, customs, and general modes of legal procedure; we follow the same tendency and methods of religious thought and practice; we have numerous intermarriages and innumerable similarities in our sports, pastimes, drama, and habits of living—a natural community in everything important.

In the light of even a hasty analysis, most of these reasons become exceedingly shadowy. A union can scarcely be called "natural" where the peoples to be welded together live in the very antipodes and are separated by the Pacific, Indian, and Atlantic oceans.

As to our belonging to the same "national family" as England, this is absurd on its face. Tennyson said of the people that inhabit England: "Norman and Kelt and Dane are we." What would he have written of the infinitesimally mixed people that inhabit the United States? No matter what

pride we may have in purity of blood and in fancied descent from fancied "Anglo-Saxons," we Americans are a mongrel and a hybrid people. It is to our advantage that we are, because a mixture of blood means greater virility and longer national life. If the term must be used, it can not in any sense exclude the Teutonic race; and therefore an "Anglo-Saxon Century" must mean a century dominated by the peoples of Great Britain, Germany, the United States, France, and possibly Spain and Portugal, and their various colonies. It is only a shallow knowledge of history and ethnology that calls Frenchmen and Spaniards "Latins." They also belong to our "national family."

Mr. Dos Passos cites Freeman and others in favor of the view that language is a mark of common origin and a powerful natural tie between peoples. The peoples of the modern world, more often than not, have no claim to their language as a national inheritance. So far from language having any influence, other than a sentimental one, it is shown by history that it has not even the power to hold a people together, much less reunite peoples that have been sundered by war and centuries of distrust. The Greek language was unable to unite the little "patches of Hellas." The Latin speech was not only unable to hold the provinces of Spain, Portugal, and France together, but it was unable even to maintain itself, and has been split into fragments known as French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Rumansh, and other dialects. And so English is now being broken into dialects. This country will assuredly speak a different tongue, in centuries to come, from the present language of England. Language will never bridge the oceans.

The other reasons are equally unconvincing. Literature is now the common possession of mankind. The average man knows nothing of literature and it makes no appeal to him. Those who most appreciate it are apt to disregard national boundaries in their literary tastes.

The argument based upon similarity of political institutions is hardly worthy of consideration, as we have grafted upon what we borrowed from England so much that is foreign to English custom, and so much has sprung from our

own conditions, as to invalidate any argument that may be drawn from a similarity in one or two particulars.

The author admits that public opinion has not crystallized on this subject. There will be doubtless a closer friendship among English-speaking peoples, but only an audacious imagination can foresee, in this or any future century, a real union of the "Anglo-Saxon" people.

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A HISTORY OF POLITICAL THEORIES, ANCIENT AND MEDÆVAL. By William Archibald Dunning, Ph. D. Cloth; 360 pages. \$2.50. The Macmillan Company, New York and London, 1902.

The author of this admirable book justly complains that the history of political theories has not hitherto attracted much attention in England or America. The Englishman and the American are too much taken up with practical politics. Such books, however, as Mr. Dunning has produced, will certainly tend to remove the reproach that political philosophy has been neglected, and will also tend to recommend this study to a large number of scholars. It is to be hoped that the writer may bring his studies down to the beginning of this century, and thus give a complete survey of political theories from the early Greeks who originated the science and who said probably its last word.

The special value of this work is its clear presentation of the development of political ideas and forms of government. Beginning with the institutional basis of each Greek political theory, a concise and admirably clear history is given of political theory as presented by Plato, Aristotle, and the thinkers of later Greece and of Rome, and this is followed by the development of mediæval institutions, the growth of the papacy, the conflict between the secular and the spiritual power, the Patristic ideas of politics, the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas (whose ideas Pope Leo XIII regarded as final in the world of philosophy), and the later doctrines, comparatively modern, of William of Ockam and Machiavelli.

The most interesting, as well as the most important, part of this work is that which relates to the Greek ideals. Here

we feel we are at the clear fountain sources. Nothing in mediæval or modern times has at all approached the clear sanity of Greek intelligence, and the speculations of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, together with the practical genius of Pericles, have left almost nothing for the gleaning of modern thinkers in this field. Aristotle, although living amid a people essentially democratic in spirit, yet considered democracy as almost the worst form of government. According to him, the best form of government attainable was a form that would represent "the mean." This was a mixed aristocracy, and although he placed a pure aristocracy and an ideal royalty above it in point of merit, he recognized that they were unattainable.

It is remarkable that he had so freed himself from custom and tradition that he could hold the opinion that circumstances might make any form of government the best. Democracy, he admitted, would be best where the poor greatly exceed the rich in numbers; oligarchy where the rich could control; and that the government of "the means," or what he called "polity," would be best where the middle class is superior. He would not accept the idea that good government, clean and efficient, could be possible at the hands of the many, the *demos*. Intelligence, wealth, and virtue were to Aristotle the essential elements of good government. It is probable, as the author seems to suggests, that Jefferson got his ideas as to the proper tests of "fitness" from Aristotle. The qualities Aristotle demanded in a public servant were: loyalty to the established constitution, administrative capacity, and virtue and justice. Jefferson's famous "three questions" were: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?" This is only reversing Aristotle's order.

Machiavelli, whose political theories really introduced what modern politics, followed Aristotle in his form of government, and believed with him, as well as with Polybius and Cicero, that a mixed form is the best and most stable. He also, as was natural, distrusted a democracy, although he admitted that the mass of the people is the best support for an elective monarchy. But all the political theories on the mere

form of government are embodied once for all in Pope's famous couplet:

"For forms of government let fools contest;  
Whate'er is best administered is best."

Machiavelli's name was execrated during his life and for some time thereafter, but he has received a great deal of consideration since the reformation, and his political sagacity has been thoroughly recognized. His chief claim to distinction rests, perhaps, in his theory of a difference between the standards of public and of private morality. Mr. Dunning points out that Frederick the Great carried into practise this Machiavellian doctrine, and that, although contemned at first, it has been established by political precedents since, and that "reasons of state" have long since taken precedence of the moral code.

This book can not be too highly commended as a succinct and clear presentation of a very difficult, although a very important and interesting branch of study.

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THE LAW AND POLICY OF ANNEXATION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PHILIPPINES, TOGETHER WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATUS OF CUBA. By Carman F. Randolph. Cloth; pp. 226. Longmans, Green, & Co., New York and London.

This book is remarkable as being an impartial and authoritative presentation of both sides of the Philippine question. The author quite frankly admits our right to the Philippines. The policy of holding the islands is, however, another question, and he takes the ground that their annexation is not a "cross to be borne," but a "blunder to be retrieved." He thinks that our occupancy of the Philippines has demonstrated the failure of our first experiment as a world-power. Our withdrawal, he says, "will re-establish the truth that the strength of our republic is not maintained by mere enlargement of boundaries, nor by mere addition of peoples: It is founded upon the competency and loyalty of the civic body, and upon the 'indestructible union of indestructible states.'"

The principal lesson pointed out by Mr. Randolph is that

the conquest of the Philippines is really the first step in a policy of aggression that will soon lead us to join the other powers in the partitioning of Asia.

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THE LAW OF LIFE. A Novel. By Anna McClure Sholl. Cloth. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1903.

This is the author's first novel, although her name is familiar as a writer of magazine articles and short stories. Like all first work, it shows traces of the furnace that has transformed clay into porcelain, but no book has been published recently that reveals such fine promise of better work.

The scene of the story is laid at Cornell University, which is veiled under the name of "Hallworth." The "Sparta" of the story is, of course, Ithaca, and the entire setting discloses Cornell on every page. This, however, makes the book of greater interest, because we have had so much of the older universities, and it is refreshing to have a pure breath, giving and taking odor, from this young institution.

College life does not usually appeal to a large audience, certainly not to many persons that are not recently from college; but "The Law of Life" will be interesting, not only to the large number of Cornell graduates, and to the graduates of other universities of the country, but it should prove interesting also to every one that is at all concerned in the virile and hopeful life of our universities. It is a splendid portrayal of this life in its most intimate aspect.

The story deals with the problem of a young, unsophisticated girl, falling in love with a scholar so completely absorbed by his books as to be oblivious to everything else, even to the suggestions of love. The too frequent result of such unions follows. The girl finds herself immediately in love with some one else. The usual ending of such a problem would be the violent dissolution of an unnatural tie; but Miss Sholl forces her heroine to remain true to the dry-as-dust professor whom she has married in her innocence and ignorance. This she believes to be the "law of life." Once or twice, indeed, the terrible weight of her isolation bears upon her so heavily that she almost breaks the bond; but on each occasion, conscience—

which must have been New England in its origin—or the wonderfully imaginative girl known as "The Emperor," helps to save her and hold her true to her pure, if low, ideal of life.

The charm of the book will be found in its remarkable and attractive presentation of the life of the university campus. We believe that its author is a university graduate, possibly of Cornell itself—a "co-ed," as it is known in college slang. This experience would account for the wide knowledge she displays of girl life at a mixed university. The picture that is given of the life at Cornell is very pleasing, and the facts have been woven into a charming story that possesses sufficient novelty to be original as well as interesting.

Although this is her first long work, Miss Sholl gives abundant evidence of power in the portrayal and development of character. The heroine, Barbara, is consistent throughout, in fact, a little too consistent. It would have been, we think, more interesting if some of the earlier promises as to her development in intellectual and physical charm had been carried out. As it is, we have her from beginning to end as a simple, pure-minded, unsophisticated girl. We certainly expected that she would blossom into something remarkable. It is, we think, an error of judgment to make her so particularly brilliant as she is described as being on several occasions, as this brilliancy can break through the surface of her reserve only with as much difficulty and disturbance as volcanic fires break through the earth's crust.

The character of "The Emperor," Helen Adair, is perhaps the best piece of work in the book, although she is always a little vague, and is utilized as a kind of good providence watching over Barbara and others, and always present at the psychological moment to save; but the portrayal of her is beautifully done and leaves a very distinct and charming impression.

The professor, Dr. Penfold, is finely painted with very delicate but telling strokes. He loses somewhat in charm by being apparently a dim replica of Casaubon in "Middlemarch." However, he is not so scholarly nor so disagreeable as George Eliot's character. Sometimes he seems a little too abstracted for the purpose; as, for instance, when, on the night of the

birth of Barbara's child, he goes out with another professor to study the movements of the planet Eros, instead of watching the movements of the little god Eros in his home. On the other hand, when the author makes him break through the crust of his abstraction, the result is rather unsatisfying. The scene where he reads "Yseulte of the White Hand" to Barbara, seven weeks after they are married, is very pretty, but the ardor of it is a little beyond the character.

The strongest writing is in the chapter called "The Crisis," where Barbara has her greatest temptation and conquers it, with some assistance, of course, from the omnipresent "Emperor." The criticism must be made, however, that in dealing with the intimate relations of the sexes, as she was compelled to do in handling such a plot, the author is often very far afield. Doubtless her work will improve in quality in this respect, and we shall certainly expect from her a much stronger and withal a much more interesting book.

As a first novel, however, "The Law of Life" is certain to make a decided success. It will no doubt win for itself and the writer great praise, not only because it is well done, and because it is a fine story, finely told, but because it gives distinct promise of "an ampler ether, a diviner air" to which she will invite us hereafter.

## CURRENT COMMENT

Pope Leo  
XIII

Leo XIII, from the moment he ascended the pontifical throne, has been a tower of strength for the church. He has led her triumphantly through one of the most trying periods in her history. Everywhere he has made friends for her. Even those without the fold are among the most ardent admirers of the Grand Old Man of the Vatican. They revere him for his saintly life and his winning qualities of head and heart.—*The Catholic News.*

During the twenty-five years of his office he has proved himself a great statesman. He has recognized that humanistic and popular movement which during the nineteenth century has revolutionized Europe, and which may be designated by the general term democracy, and he has so directed the life of the Roman Catholic Church as to furnish to this movement, full of peril as well as of promise to humanity, the restraining and regulative influence, not only of the spirit of religion, but also of the traditions and institutions of the most powerful of the Christian churches. His name as a leader of democracy, though rather as a restraining than an inspiring leader, deserves to take place with those of Cavour in Italy, Gambetta in France, and Gladstone in England.—*The Outlook.*

The New Pope,  
Pius X

As parish priest, as bishop, as archbishop and patriarch of Venice, and as cardinal, he won men's esteem by the thoroughness with which he carried out any work he set his hand to. A man's character may be known by the view his neighbors take of him, as they have better opportunities of judging what sort of a person he is. Pius X was the most popular person in Venice, where all classes, and especially the common people, loved him for his many noble qualities of heart and mind. He was regarded by the Venetian workingmen in the same way Cardinal Manning was regarded by English workingmen.—*Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register.*

Broad sympathies joined with prudence are an admirable equipment for the man who directs the destinies of such an institution as the Roman Catholic Church. It has been said, also, that for Italy his election would be fortunate. If for Italy, why not for the rest of the world? The theory that what helps one nation hurts others is now anachronistic among the world's best thinkers. What helps Italy, especially in the sense here intended, must help Europe and America.—*Boston Transcript.*

With naïvely democratic principles, a long life of single-minded spiritual service, and a sturdy independence of Vatican prejudices, Pius X ought to bring back to Peter's chair its purely religious influence. Many well-wishers, Protestant as well as Catholic, feel that the Roman Church needs the direction of a pontiff who will be first of all moved by spiritual rather than temporal power.—*The Outlook*.

**The President's "Lynching" Letter** The President's letter to Gov. Durbin, praising him for the good example he gave to the country in upholding the laws, was a word fitly spoken. The race problem was not involved at Evansville after the original criminal was removed. The final outbreak was simply that of lawlessness, anarchy, in other words, assaulting the peace and order of the state. The difference is clear. Indignation against the negro passed out of sight; then came in its place a revolt against law.—*Indianapolis News*.

In writing it, he knew that it sealed any hope of getting a solitary Southern electoral vote. He must also know that it will have no effect in stopping lynching in the South.—*Boston Advertiser*.

The President by no means proposes to temporize with lynching, but he has gone to the root of the matter. He finds its chief cause in the failure of the courts, and in the loss of confidence by the people in them. As to the President, his utterance is full of sense and reason, and it shows a full comprehension of the entire situation which has made popular justice such a prominent feature in American life. The people have created the machinery of justice, and when that fails, the people must and will apply some other remedy for the protection of society and the repression of crime.—*New Orleans Picayune*.

The letter of President Roosevelt to Gov. Durbin of Indiana is filled with common truths of ethics and good government that no right-minded citizen will contest. . . . The letter, however, might have been better addressed. Gov. Durbin does not deserve the distinction the President seeks to confer upon him. He is not a fit American representative of respect for the laws of the state over which he is Governor.—*Atlanta Constitution*.

In the President's communication there is no attempt to draw sectional lines, or color lines, or any lines at all except

the one line between anarchy and law. The question is discussed in all its scope and bearings, and yet there is not a line in it that will not commend itself to every friend of law and order. The Presidential pen is ever ready, but it has given no subject a more salutary and wholesome shaking than it gave lynching in the letter addressed to Gov. Durbin.—*Birmingham Age-Herald.*

**Retirement of  
General Miles**

With the retirement of Lieutenant-General Miles there will pass from active service the last of the officers of the army who gained distinction in the Civil War. . . . It is to the shame of the service that the selfish and unworthy jealousies of a group of non-combatants at Washington strove assiduously to deprive this brilliant officer of the honor and authority he had so fully won and of the new opportunities that were justly his. He would have been more or less than a man had he not shown resentment at the studied neglect with which he was treated in the war with Spain; but the nation never misunderstood him, nor failed in appreciation, and he carries into retirement, at an age when he is not capable of the best of service, the enthusiastic admiration and affection of all who know how to honor the high qualities of a soldier and a gentleman. He leaves no one who can be named in the same class with himself, either in experience or achievement.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

General Miles's retirement marks the passing from the stage of active service of a figure of more than ordinary military consequence. His Indian campaigns enhanced his early reputation, and easily carried him to the front in an army as rich in military capacity as was the skeletonized service which was sent to keep the peace on our Western frontiers. He rose to the command of that tiny army with professional credit amply established and prestige unchecked.—*New York Tribune.*

In spite of a splendid record, General Miles has been a failure as commander in the war department. Thus, while he has retained his physical vigor and was able to give proof of his endurance by the remarkable ride the other day of ninety miles on horseback over a rough country in nine hours, he resembles in many respects General Scott, who was swept out of office by the Civil War, which brought with it conditions with which he was not fit to cope and which he could hardly even understand.—*Providence Journal.*

What, retired from the service by a cold, formal announcement from the pen of a department clerk, that splendid soldier, General Miles, who has literally fought his way to the highest rank, and almost simultaneously raised to the rank next to the highest, over the heads of a multitude of seasoned and experienced officers of intervening grades, General Leonard Wood, really a civilian, who has seen almost no fighting at all? No, no, Mr. President; no, Mr. Secretary, that will never do. It is a frightful blunder, of which no one would have thought the administration capable had it not been committed.

The President and the Secretary have blundered, and their blunder may well assume the proportions of a veritable calamity for the administration. The shortest way out is the best. It is not too late for the President to write such a letter as that which President Cleveland published upon the occasion of General Schofield's retirement. It is too late to retrieve the blunder altogether, but a most unfortunate incident will be sooner forgotten if a tardy but just appreciation of the distinguished services of General Miles comes promptly from the pen of the President.—*The New York Times.*

**New York's Reform Government** The Fusion Administration promised, if elected, to do two principal things—(1) reform the police department, (2) conduct the city government upon a business—and not a political—basis.

In fulfilling this pledge, the administration has accomplished these big results:

**Police.**—But four of the twelve police inspectors under Devery remain; only four old captains are now in command of Manhattan precincts, while thirty-one new ones are in place. Commissioner Greene and District-Attorney Jerome have made blackmail a most dangerous business, and the police have turned their energies to the protection of life and property, rather than of vice and criminals.

Economies have been effected in nearly every city department, permitting more to be expended for public improvements.

**Franchises.**—In obtaining for the city the vast advantages of the Pennsylvania tunnel, the New York Central improvements, and the new trolley lines in the Bronx, the administration has provided that the city shall obtain \$250,000 a year from these franchises, which is 60 per cent. of the total amount the city is now receiving from all other local railroad grants.

**Assessments.**—In assessing real estate at its full value—as the law requires—the administration has made practically

impossible the past inequalities of assessment, and placed at the disposal of the city necessary resources for great public improvements.

The extraordinary activity of the health department has completely driven smallpox from New York, and reduced the death rate from 20 to 18.7, thereby saving 4,500 lives a year.—*Campaign Circular of Citizens' Union.*

**Negroes Oppose Mr. Washington** distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things:

"First, political power.

"Second, insistence on civil rights.

"Third, higher education of negro youth."

Concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

"1. The disfranchisement of the negro.

"2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the negro.

"3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the negro.

"These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment. The question then comes: Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No. And Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox of his career:

"1. He is striving nobly to make negro artisans, business men, and property owners; but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for workingmen and property owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage.

"2. He insists on thrift and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap the manhood of any race in the long run.

"3. He advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of high learning; but neither the

negro common schools nor Tuskegee itself could remain open a day were it not for teachers trained in negro colleges, or trained by their graduates.'—*W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.*

We acknowledge that Mr. Washington is the foremost colored man of the present generation. He is intellectual, eloquent, and an untiring worker. But he does not believe as his people believe, and in promulgating his propaganda of surrender of rights he does not represent his people. The revolt at Boston was the first that has reached the public. There would be others if Mr. Washington did not control the strong papers conducted by colored men and if they expressed the sentiments of the people. By the people I mean our people and the thinking, liberty-loving white people of this country, who believe that the colored man should have every right and be permitted to enjoy every right he is given under the law.—*The Rev. R. C. Ranson, a negro preacher of Chicago.*

If the matter were brought down to a real test, we express the belief that Booker Washington today could not carry upon a vote one-third or one-fourth of the negroes of the South in indorsement either of his ideas or of his conservative and sensible plans. What the negro of the South wants, and longs for and yearns after and in his heart demands is speedy equality with the white man in every particular, and Booker Washington leads not the sentiment of his people, but the good sense of the saving few who see that the things which the negro craves are impossible.—*The Atlanta News.*

**Current Price Comparisons**      The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates :

	Aug. 21, 1902	July 22, 1903	Aug. 20, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)	\$3.90	4.15	4.50
Wheat, No. 2 red (bushel).....	77	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	86 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	65	56 $\frac{1}{4}$	58
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	35	40 $\frac{1}{2}$	39
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	17.75	16.50	14.75
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	22.00	19.50	22.50
Coffee, Rio No 7 (lb.).....	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.)...	4.65	5	5
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	19
Cheese, State, f. c., small fancy (lb.)	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	9	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Print Cloths (yard).....	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.).....	—	5 $\frac{6}{10}$	5 $\frac{6}{10}$
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)...	7.20	8 $\frac{6}{10}$	8 $\frac{6}{10}$

	Aug. 21, 1902	July 22, 1903	Aug. 20, 1903
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	14½	11½	11
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....	24½	24	24
Iron, No. 1 North foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	22.50	18.50	17.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	22.00	17.75	16.50
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.) .....	28.30	27.50	28.10
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.) .....	11.50	13.50	13.75
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.) .....	4.12½	4.30	4.25
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20) .....	4.35	4.15	4.15
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.) .....	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.) .....	2.05	2.00	2.00
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.) .....	8.00	5.40	5.40
Fine silver (per ounce) .....	—	54½	55½
Bullion value silver dollar .....	—	.4125	.4125
Ratio gold to silver .....	—	1:40.49	1:40.49

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 Aug.	1899 Aug.	1900 Aug.	1901 Aug.	1902 Aug.	1903 Aug.
Wheat, No. 2 red N.Y. (bush.)	.81½	.78½	.83½	.81½	.78½	.85½
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.33½	.33	.41½	.59½	.60	.52½
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.38	.41½	.47½	.64½	.69½	.58½
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.22½	.22	.22½	.37½	.31	.35½
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.46½	.56½	.51½	.60	.54	.51
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.50	13.00	12.50	15.00	15.00	13.50
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	2.00	2.00	1.87	4.25	1.37	—
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.12	.15	.15	.17	.28	.22
Wool, xx, washed, N. Y. (lb.)	.30	.32	.30	.27	.27½	.33
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.28	.27	.29	.24	.26½	.29½
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.20	5.00	5.57½	6.60	7.95	5.80
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y. (lbs.)	.19	.21	.21	.21	.20½	.19½
" Elgin	.18½	.20	.21½	.21	.20	.18½
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.15½	.18	.18	.20	.21	.23
" " " St. Louis (doz.)	.13	.12	.11½	.11½	.16	.12
Cheese, Sept. col'd. N. Y.	.07½	.11½	.10½	.09½	.10½	.10½
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.08½	.10½	.12	.11½	.11½	.12

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Jan. 1 1893.	July 1 1898.	July 1 1899.	Aug. 1 1900.	Aug. 1 1901.	Aug. 1 1902.	Aug. 1 1903.
Breadstuffs ...	\$15.750	12.783	13.483	13.880	16.668	19.983	17.375
Meats .....	9.315	7.694	7.988	9.068	9.151	11.679	8.977
Dairy, garden .....	15.290	9.437	10.974	11.532	13.261	11.347	11.800
Other foods .....	9.595	8.826	9.157	9.618	9.253	8.821	9.266
Clothing .....	13.900	14.663	15.021	16.106	15.027	15.582	17.177
Metals .....	15.985	11.843	15.635	15.151	15.345	16.239	16.489
Miscellaneous..	14.320	12.522	12.060	16.170	16.625	16.526	16.807
Total .....	\$94.155	77.768	85.227	91.525	95.330	100.177	97.891

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	July 17, 1903.	Aug. 14, 1903.
Average, 60 railway .....	102.99	103.03	90.64	88.23
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	54.00	51.14
" 5 city traction, etc. .	137.37	130.45	116.70	112.70

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing July 17 1903	Prices Aug. 14 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113	116 $\frac{1}{2}$	117 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	118 $\frac{1}{2}$	118
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	—	135
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	—	102
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
International Paper (pref.).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	69 $\frac{1}{2}$
N. Y. Central R. R. ....	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	147	118 $\frac{1}{2}$	125 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania R. R. ....	170	147	121 $\frac{1}{2}$	126 $\frac{1}{2}$
Reading R. R. (1st pf.)....	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	81 $\frac{1}{2}$
Southern Pacific Ry.....	81	56	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Rubber .....	—	—	12	10
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	48	—
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
" (pref.) .....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	79	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$
Western Union Tel. ....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Aug. 7 1902		July 11, 1903		Aug. 7 1903		
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)....	5	10	0	6	10	0	
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2	16	0	2	12	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Copper .....	"	"	52	13	7	57	5
Tin, Straits .....	124	15	0	123	10	0	
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14 x 20) ..	0	13	3	0	11	8	
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.).....	—	—	—	0	15	6	
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs)	11	7	6	11	11	3	
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	0	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Petroleum (gallon) .....	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.865; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)



The call for free trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child in its nurse's arms for the moon or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed, it never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal, and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports of any other foreign nation shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all barriers to free trade on our part, but the work will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restriction, prohibitions and exclusions on the other. . . . Under the operation of the American system the products of our agriculture command a higher price than they would do without it, by the creation of a home market, and by the augmentation of wealth produced by manufacturing industry, which enlarges our powers of consumption both of domestic and foreign articles. The importance of the home market is among the established maxims which are universally recognized by all writers and all men. However some may differ as to the relative advantages of the foreign and the home market, none deny to the latter great value and high consideration. It is nearer to us; beyond the control of foreign legislation; and undisturbed by those vicissitudes to which all international intercourse is more or less exposed.

*Henry Clay "On the American System."*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## "JOHNSONISM" IN OHIO

The spectacular and eminently triumphant nomination of Tom L. Johnson for governor of Ohio, and the medley-list of other candidates on the ticket, signalize the entrance of a somewhat new element into national politics. Heretofore, Johnson's performances have been of a local nature. This time, while nominally entering the field of state politics, he is really in the dominion of national politics.

Johnson does not for a moment seriously expect to be elected governor of Ohio. His real purpose is to get control of the legislature, so that he may dictate the election of the next United States Senator. In that case, Johnson will really be the senator, no matter who occupies the seat. Nor is this all. Even approximate success in this enterprise makes Tom L. Johnson a commanding force in national politics. Clearly, therefore, the Johnson campaign is not a matter to be passed over lightly. Johnson's personality, platform candidates, and Bryan backing, are a challenge to everything stable and sound in our state and national policy. To the extent that it has even the seeming of success, the Johnson campaign means a disrupting crusade against the orderly methods of modern industry and the business prosperity of the nation.

Johnson is not a thinker, or a statesman; but he is really a "hustling" organizer, with an inordinate ambition, plenty of money, and an utter inability to blush. He is a veritable Barnum in public life. To the extent that he represents any definite idea, he is a single-taxer, but in this campaign he is the ambitious rallying-post for all the disintegrate and disintegrating "isms" and "cults" in society. He has assumed the mantle of Bryan, with socialism, single tax, free trade, anti-trust, and

other disrupting "isms" added. These ideas are not limited to those who conscientiously believe they are entirely harmless; indeed, they are sometimes quite beneficial as a means of public discussion. Socialism, for instance, interests a large number of persons in the investigation and discussion of social ideas, and tends to create a public spirit. So the single tax leads to a discussion that is often wholesome of the various questions of public taxation.

As propagandists, the single-taxers, the socialists, and for that matter the anti-monopolists, and free-traders, are helpful to the creation of a wholesome public opinion, because they furnish constant criticism of public policy; but when these groups of economic and social innovators are aggregated into a movement behind the leadership of a cunning, ambitious, and wealthy politician, bent merely on political power, the whole assumes a different and altogether more serious aspect. Then the very forces that are intensely honest, critical, and usually wholesome, become the prey of market-place class prejudice, and are banded against prosperity and the forces of social progress. And so, instead of various groups of conscientious reformers in specific lines, we have a mob movement against everything successful in society.

Following the maxim that compromise is necessary to successful organization, each body representing definite ideas sinks its special claim, and, with it, its conscientious scruples, for the general cause; and so, in the end, the movement represents everything in general, and nothing in particular except the ambition of the leader. This was illustrated when Henry George was a candidate for mayor of New York in 1886. He received 68,000 votes, and there probably were not one thousand disciples of the single tax theory in the whole movement. But when Mr. George was writing his book, "*Progress and Poverty*" (which is his only book worth mentioning), he was in earnest. He put conscience as well as ability into the work; but when he became candidate for mayor he lost all regard for consistent principle, and indulged in every extravagant notion that would bring the greatest applause in Cooper Union. He pretended, in his writings, to be strictly opposed to socialism,

and the public ownership and control of industry; yet he advocated not only the public ownership of street railways, but free riding. It was not three-cent fares, but no fares. By way of applause-getting oratory, he said the people should be as free to step on a street car without charge as to ride in an elevator in a downtown building. Following in this strain, it did not take Mr. George long to go the full length of a socialist or a full-fledged anarchist. He would pause at nothing that was popular in the market-place. Had he been elected, he would have been compelled either to prove himself a humbug to his followers or to wreck the community with his folly; but being defeated, he was spared the responsibility of applying the dangerous theories that in his serious moments he never for a moment believed.

Ten years later, 1896, we had another experience of a similar kind, but on a larger scale. This time it was not in municipal, but in national politics. Mr. Bryan was nominated specifically on the idea of free silver; but, like Henry George, as he proceeded in his campaign, he widened the range of his attack on prosperity. Free silver soon became inadequate for the rallying of the various elements of discontent, and he proceeded to denounce corporations and the tariff, applaud socialism, malign the railroads, denounce the banks, and, in fact, array himself against all the stable institutions and successful industries in the country. And for what? To appeal to the sympathies and prejudices of all the social and economic cults, misfits, and discontents in the country. At this time the opportunity was very propitious. The Cleveland *régime* had prepared the way for marvelous success in that kind of a crusade. Business had been demoralized, factories closed, soup kitchens made commonplace, and enforced idleness almost respectable.

In this crusade Mr. Bryan and his followers nearly succeeded in capturing the control of the national government by their appeal to passion and prejudice. His crusade became so threateningly large that it struck fear into the sane, business-conducting, property-owning, and law-and-order-regarding elements of the whole nation. Had he succeeded, he would

have been obliged to demonstrate himself a colossal humbug, or ruin the nation. If half he advocated had been adopted, we should have been put on a silver basis and should have had an experience of ten or fifteen years of readjustment, which would have ruined the business interests of the country and put the nation back a quarter of a century. With the same recklessness he would have slaughtered our manufactures by plunging us into a free trade policy; but fortunately for Mr. Bryan, as well as for the nation, he was not elected, and all that he prophesied regarding wages, business prosperity, progress, freedom, and general advance in the welfare and civilization of the contry has proved false. Not a single prediction he made has been verified, and in almost every instance the reverse has been experienced. If he was not elected, and the gold standard was adopted, farm prices were to fall, wages decline, and calamity everywhere overtake the industrious and enterprising citizen. Yet, it is needless to say that there has never been a time in the history of this country when the reverse of all these things was so conspicuously prominent. Farm prices have kept astonishingly high, wheat frequently touched a dollar a bushel, and corn, even last winter, was sixty cents a bushel. Farmers and manufacturers were never so prosperous, consumption in all lines of industry never so great, and the increase in wages and in the number of successful strikes have had no parallel. Instead of laborers losing their wages and freedom, they have had more advantages during the past few years than ever before in the same time, and they have, through their organizations, almost become dictators.

All this is so obvious to everybody, that of course Mr. Bryan can not now repeat the stuff that he uttered with such eloquence in 1896; nor can he repeat the performances of 1900. His prophecies have proved false, his theories so at variance with the facts, his pleadings so unsupported by experience, that he is practically shorn of his power as a leader. To be sure he still has some power to hinder. The failure of these movements of course spares the leaders all responsibilities for the consequence of their theories. They can always say that good results would have followed if they had won; and

with the lack of any considerable degree of sound economic and political education among the masses, another Henry George or Bryan is likely to arise if a favorable opportunity presents itself.

An industrial depression is an admirable opportunity for the creation of Bryans and Georges. This, however, we have not had since the defeat of Bryan in 1896; but other forces have been operating to produce a similar result in the public mind. The anti-tariff agitators are diligent and ever-present. They are always bent on persuading the people that they are being robbed, no matter how much there is of prosperity. The very growth of our prosperity has been made the basis of a propaganda which has largely helped to prepare the way for another political crusade against all that is successful and stable in society. The growth of our large corporations (a symptom of our progress) has been made the object of attack by the free-traders and a remnant of the Bryan crusaders. Everything has been said against trusts and corporations that was said against the gold standard and the tariff.

The Johnson movement in Ohio is of the same nature and made up of the same elements as was the George movement in 1886 and the Bryan movement in 1896; but Johnson is a different man from either George or Bryan. He has more organizing energy, fewer scruples than either, and very much more money than both. He has the additional advantage of a political experience as a member of congress and twice mayor of Cleveland. There are many respects in which Johnson is a far more dangerous man than either George or Bryan. Both George and Bryan were primarily tethered to an abstract idea; they believed in a specific doctrine. To be sure they deserted it in their campaign for power, but they both had at bottom an element of conscientious conviction. Johnson is not hampered by anything of that kind. He is just a rich, "roly-poly" politician, who knows how to "jolly" the masses and is willing to spend lots of money in doing it.

Johnson's campaign really stands for free silver, single tax, socialism, free trade, and anti-corporation. Happily, the free silver idea has become harmless by the very development

of economic forces in the nation. What was once believed to be an occult influence on the monetary standard, is now known to be a vague superstition and an uneconomic and groundless notion. The industrial progress of the last six years has rendered the free silver theory impotent and harmless. The single tax idea would also be harmless if it were honestly and squarely presented; but it is put forth in the Johnson campaign under the guise of "equal taxation," an attractive phrase. But those who advocate equal taxation would not like to have it at all. Equal taxation would make each laborer pay as much taxes as a millionaire. If taxes were equally divided, there are many that now pay none who would have to be heavily assessed.

But the real nib of the single tax idea is not taxation at all; it is confiscation. It is a system of purposely taxing away all the value of land. When all the value is taxed away, there is nothing worth keeping, and the inevitable result would be to confiscate the land back to the government. Mr. Johnson would not say that, because he is not as honest as his master, Henry George, who is the real authority on that subject. Mr. George saw the logic of his theory and did not shrink from the consequences, and openly advocated confiscation of property. He says:

By the time the people of any such country as England or the United States are sufficiently aroused to the injustice and disadvantages of individual ownership of land to induce them to attempt its nationalization, they will be sufficiently aroused to nationalize it in a much more direct and easy way than by purchase. They will not trouble themselves about compensating the proprietors of land. Nor is it right that there should be any concern about the proprietors of land. . . . Why should we hesitate about making short work of such a system? . . . If the land belongs to the people, why continue to permit land owners to take the rent, or compensate them in any manner for the loss of rent? . . . Now, what does the law allow to the innocent possessor when the land for which he paid his money is adjudged to rightfully belong to another? Nothing at all. That he purchased in good faith gives him no right or claim whatever. The law does not concern itself with the "intricate question of compensation" to the innocent purchaser.

The above is not an incidental remark, but is the essence of

the doctrine. Mr. George devoted a whole chapter to justifying the confiscation of land, and the method devised for doing this is the single tax. The single tax doctrine of which Mr. Johnson is an avowed disciple, and perhaps the most conspicuous one now living, is not a revenue system at all. Under this system taxation has no necessary relation to revenue, nor to the need of the collection and expenditure of public funds. It is simply a method of seizing property that, as Mr. George admits, has been honestly paid for. Listen to the words of the prophet George on this point:

Why continue to permit land owners to take the land, or compensate them in any manner for the loss of land? . . . That he purchased in good faith gave him no right or claim whatever.\*

Of course Mr. Johnson and his followers will not have the courage openly to advocate this doctrine. They are like the thief who thinks it safer to steal by cheating than by bold burglary. Nevertheless, this is the doctrine upon which all Johnson's ideas of tax reform rest, and every step of his advance means the carrying of this doctrine into the official policy of the country. Perhaps the 375,000 home-owners in Ohio and the 7,000,000 home-owners in the United States would be interested in having Tom Johnson carry his despoiling theory into the policy of the state of Ohio, or into that of the United States.

There is another aspect of this doctrine that is perhaps worse than the theory itself; that is the class suspicion and antagonism that it tends to create. The single-tax doctrine rests upon the declaration that the private ownership of land is robbery, and that every landless citizen has been robbed, and that every land-owning citizen is a thief, and is living upon plunder. The necessary tendency of this is to make every laborer or non-land-owning citizen suspicious of, and hostile to, every one that owns land. Thus the farmers and the business men of the country are represented as the enemies and robbers of the masses, and the more successful they are in

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\* "Progress and Poverty", page 263.

business, the greater enemies they are of the "people". This industrial success is used to arouse the enmity of the public. It sets the people against the industries and enterprising citizens in factory and farm as the exploiters of the poor. Anything more vicious than this it is difficult to conceive.

That this doctrine has that effect is manifest by the spirit and attitude of all the advocates of the single tax theory. It characterized all Mr. George's public speeches, especially in political campaigns. It bristles in every sentence uttered by Tom Johnson and his followers in Ohio. Like all fanaticisms, it gathers venom with volume and momentum. The chief means of advocating this theory is to traduce all who succeed in business. Thus large corporations, whether it be in the manufacture of iron and steel, cotton, wool, or silk, or in rail-ways, are all lumped together as public enemies, and made the subject of indiscriminate abuse. All this public hostility to corporate enterprise and property-owning citizens is born of the false and pernicious idea that property is robbery, for which Johnson stands, and which his campaign is carrying into the politics and public policy of the nation.

It may be said that the single tax theory does not declare that all property is robbery, but only that the private ownership of land is robbery. Technically, this is true, but the very propaganda that declares private ownership of land to be robbery takes with it the spirit, and logically enough the reasoning, that all property is robbery, and what the single-taxers do not affirm in this direction is supplemented by the socialists, who readily unite with them. That was the case with Henry George's mayoralty candidacy in 1886. It was the case with Bryan in 1896, and it is pre-eminently the case with Johnson today in Ohio. Henry George supported Bryan, although he professed no interest or belief in the free silver idea, because Mr. Bryan represented the movement against property and capitalized industrial enterprise. His enemies were their enemies, and so Mr. George said the single-taxers should follow the banner of Bryan. The socialists reasoned in exactly the same way. They even had a contempt for the free silver theory, but they said it is helping on the "grand revolution". Any-

thing that will disrupt the present industrial system will promote their cause; hence the socialists flocked to the Bryan standard. The Populists, whose special object is to smash the railroads and national banks saw their opportunity, and flocked to the Bryan standard also.

This situation is being repeated in Ohio today, and, if successful, the effort will be carried into the field of national politics in 1904. The socialists do not believe in the single tax, but they are flocking to the Johnson camp. They even sneer at his pretense at philanthropy and interest in the welfare of the masses. They point to his millions as the "unearned increment" of monopoly franchises. They would describe the free expenditure of his millions in politics as the purchase money of political ambition, but they see in it an assault on our economic institutions, and a contribution to the triumph of socialism. Socialism is an economic religion. It is taught as a faith, propagated as a creed. Socialists, like the Crusaders of the middle ages, believe that the end justifies the means. It is not a question with them, whether Johnson is honest, but whether he is useful to their cause. They are as ready to use a humbug as to follow a saint. The Johnson people know this, at least the more intelligent of them. The single-taxers know that when there is no political campaign, their severest critics are the socialists.

The Johnson campaign has given to everything a socialistic flavor. Capital and corporations are abused, and there is much talk about public ownership of franchises and other property. Thus the Johnson campaign automatically begins a campaign against established industry, and a direct attack upon the conditions of public welfare. This is conclusively shown both by the platform and by the character of the candidates on the ticket. The platform reaffirms the Chicago and Kansas City platforms of Mr. Bryan. That, of course, is to buy Bryan's influence in the campaign, and it has evidently been secured, for Mr. Bryan has already delivered a speech endorsing for the United States senate a man who opposed his great free silver heresy. This means that the Johnson movement at least endorses free silver. It would probably endorse any other

heresy if it could be shown that it had any following. In order to pander to the anti-corporation prejudice, the anti-trust fanatic, Frank S. Monet, although a Republican, is nominated for Attorney-General.

In addition to single tax, socialism, free silver, Bryanism, Populism, and anti-corporation, the Johnson campaign, like all similar movements, stands for free trade. This has the additional advantage as a campaign slogan, that it enables speakers and followers, not merely to attack trusts and the ownership of land and banks, but all manufactures, and thus strike at the very heart of national prosperity. On this point, like his predecessors, George and Bryan, Johnson is an ultra-doctrinaire. He is no tariff reformer, he is no schedule reducer; he is a free trader pure and simple. He would abolish custom houses altogether, and make a confiscating tax on land all the more necessary. In this respect he is worse than Cleveland and Wilson, and in most respects he is more dangerous than any man in public life since the war, because he is rich and brazen, and utterly unconscionable. There is no institution too sacred for him to destroy in his march to political power. He knows, and most of the people of Ohio know, that a serious attack on the tariff today would give us an industrial panic. The working men of Ohio and of the United States ought to know, and really do know, that whatever interest Tom Johnson may have, they surely have none in such a performance. Johnson's platform is all theory, and the policy of the associated groups in this campaign, singly and collectively, represent a crusade against society.

There are only two points represented by the Johnson campaign that are not destructive of every influence of national welfare and opposed to the interests of the wage workers. These are the demand for a two-cent-a-mile rate on the railroads and a three-cent fare on the surface roads. But they are chiefly catch-words for the unwary. Cheap transportation, whether freight or passenger, and improved conveniences and facilities, can come only with the successful development of enterprise. It is not contended that railroads show an eagerness to reduce fares. On the contrary, public sentiment and busi-

ness prosperity are needed to bring about such improvements. Corporations are not run by angels, and those who take Tom Johnson for one, need only inquire how he made his millions to find out their error. The chief difference between Johnson and the Morgans and Carnegies, is that they are not humbugs, and he is. They go about their business working for profit, and in so doing render valuable service to the public; while he is playing philanthropist, spending millions of his monopoly earnings to lure the masses into promoting his political ambitions. Even this might be tolerated, if he were not trying to do it by destroying the very institutions and conditions that make progress and public welfare possible. The two-cent mileage and the three-cent street car fare may come, and ought to come as soon as possible. We already have the two-cent mileage in New York. Perhaps Ohio is sufficiently thickly settled to permit it there. It certainly would be impossible in any of the Western states.

The three-cent fare is specifically a local question. The general tendency in street-car systems is not to reduce the fare, but to increase the system of transfers. In New York city the transfers have been so increased that what used to cost 15 and 20 cents is now had for 5 cents. There was an effort to demand a three-cent-fare law, but if it had succeeded, and each separate line had charged a fare, travel would have been more than twice as expensive as it is today. The increase of transfers is better, and more necessary, than a reduction of the fare below five cents, because the tendency in all large cities is to have the homes of the laborers in the suburbs, and that is where the transfers are needed. Single three-cent fares without transfers would be more expensive in nearly all large cities than five-cent fare with transfers.

It may be said that the corporations are unwilling to give transfers, and that they do so only in response to an urgent public demand. That is true. In New York, for instance, the Metropolitan Company has absorbed the Third Avenue Company, and while it has given transfers to all the lines of the Metropolitan at certain points, it is still refusing to give transfers to the passengers on the Third Avenue system. This is

an effort to make the people pay an extra fare, but the remedy for that is not single tax or socialism. It is to bring pressure to bear, and through legislation if necessary, to make the company apply transfers to its whole system. Whatever merit there may be in the three-cent fare for Cleveland, it is a local matter, and it should be accomplished by the specific application of public demand.

But the real purpose that Tom Johnson has in view is the breaking down of all efforts to combine capital and industries and corporations. He is opposed to all integration, and is in favor of disintegration of whatever kind possible. He would prefer that there should be three small railways, each with a three-cent fare, making the laborer's trip to work cost nine cents, than that the three street railways should combine, and by a system of transfers put the workman at his shop for five cents. Johnson, in business, is as Mr. Hill in politics—in favor of the “peanut” variety. He would keep up the peanut business at peanut-stand prices, rather than develop and reduce the cost of living and add to the conveniences and comforts of the wage workers of the country.

Cheap transportation and improved facilities can never be obtained by destroying the basis of property and the source of industrial prosperity. These are incidents which can be taken up independently of the socialistic, Bryanized, free trade campaign, as represented by Johnson in Ohio today. It is not a matter of political parties. It is a matter of destroying or conserving the institutions and conditions of the industrial prosperity of the nation. It is not a question of Republicanism or Democracy, but it is a question of the stability of American industry and the social advancement of the American people. Whatever may be the defects of the Republican party, the Johnson campaign represents an organized attack upon every stable constructive influence in the nation. If the policy advocated in the Ohio campaign should extend to the nation, as it would do if Johnson succeeds, all the fears of Bryanism would be realized. The success of Johnson in Ohio would be a national calamity.

## DOES THE TARIFF FOSTER MONOPOLY?

The West is particularly interested this year in the tariff question. This is both timely and wise. Radical thinkers and political agitators, who forever seek change for change sake, are already attempting to create sentiment against the present tariff, upon the ground that it creates trusts and fosters a monopolistic tendency in our great corporations. On the other hand no political question of the day can possibly be of greater interest to a section of the country rich in natural resources, and occupied by an energetic people, than the question of protection of American industries and American life.

The main assault on the tariff has shifted within recent years from a wholesale onslaught to an attack upon protection as creating and fostering "trusts." The assailants of the American policy of protection are expecting large reinforcements from the ranks of those who are always ready to attack capital and undermine prosperity. The tariff, they say, not only creates the great combinations of capital that are popularly called "trusts," but that it continues to nourish them. The trusts, they assert, naturally tend toward monopoly, and even if they were not evil in themselves, they would be so because of this monopolistic tendency, and they should therefore be abolished.

But does the tariff foster trusts? It seems clear that instead of protecting the trusts, the tariff really protects the smaller manufacturers who, if the shelter of a protective tariff were removed, would be swept out of existence by a wave of cheap foreign competition. If the tariff were removed, it is evident that the struggle would be between the producers of this country and the producers of other countries, and in this struggle only those would survive who were fitted to meet and conquer the rivalry of the cheap labor and cheap money of Europe. Certainly the small producers are not so fitted for such a desperate struggle, and would go down in the first onset. The survivors would be the great corpora-

tions like the Carnegie steel company, and the Standard Oil company, while the small producers, would be driven from the field.

How is it conceivable that the tariff protects large concerns more than it does small ones? Certainly the protection is to all alike. What gives to the large corporation its power of resistance, and its chance of winning in a sharp competitive struggle with foreign countries is, not the tariff, but its very bigness, its accumulated capital, its cheap methods of production, and its vast economies. The small producers, not having these advantages, could not compete with foreign capital, were the protection of the tariff removed, and therefore it is the tariff that permits them to exist at all.

A "trust," is merely a large corporation. It is not necessarily, nor even generally, a monopoly, nor has it necessarily or generally monopolistic tendencies, except insofar as every combination of capital and every enlargement of business tends in the direction of a control of its own field, and consequently toward some degree of monopoly. Because it goes in that direction there is no reason to believe that monopoly is its goal. In fact monopoly is impossible under the industrial conditions of this country.

As to the assertion that the tariff creates these great corporations, a little thinking will show that this is not true. What really creates the big corporations is opportunity. The tariff is responsible for the opportunity, but it is not responsible for the trust. In other words, the opportunity for the organization of great corporations has been the wonderful and continued prosperity of this country. Had we remained an agricultural, and consequently a poor, country, there would never have been an opportunity for the organization of great concerns. A trust, in the present meaning of the word, would have been impossible, and there would have been little manufacture, and little prosperity in the large American sense that we are accustomed to. But prosperity not only created opportunities for large business corporations, but made it imperative that economic methods of production should be introduced. Competition forced reduction in prices all along

the line to the point where only the big concerns and cheap production could survive, and competition, and not the tariff, is responsible for the trusts. It may be stated briefly that actual competition produced the trusts, and that potential competition prevents their further development into monopoly. This latter idea will be treated more fully later.

It is quite clear that these corporations came into existence first because there was a growing demand for their service, of whatever kind it may be. If it was the production of iron and steel, the growth of the corporations in that industry came as a supply to a demand. Supply always follows demand. If there is demand enough for anything in a community, we never need worry about the supply. Capital is waiting for an opportunity to introduce the machinery to furnish the supply. The only question is, Will it pay to supply it? Just as soon as the market, which is the demand grows large enough and strong enough so that the supply can be sold, all the forces conspire, nature, man and society all get together to set the forces in motion to furnish the supply. Therefore we may safely conclude that the real cause of the existence of corporations is the growth of the standard of consumption among the average citizens of the community.

Why do large corporations come in preference to small ones? For identically the same reason that small forms of industry always precede large ones. When the demand increases in all the different directions,—for instance, as we learn to use a greatly increased number of implements, machinery and the multitude of forms of iron and steel,—then iron and steel becomes a colossal industry. The reason for large corporations as compared with small ones is the greater economy in the use of capital applied to the industry, and just as fast as the competition becomes severe and the market gets large this effort to economize and lessen the cost of production increases, and large corporations make their appearance. We may take any industry we like, no matter what it is, that will be its history.

In what way, then, does the tariff affect these corporations? How has it affected this growth of monstrous cor-

porations that we have come to label as trusts? The only way that the tariff can have affected these is indirectly, by having affected the rapid growth of these industries. On the other hand there is no doubt whatever but the iron industry, for instance, and certainly the tin industry and the woolen industry and the cotton industry, certainly the silk industry, and very many of our manufacturing industries to owe a great deal to the tariff at one stage or another of their existence. Their life in this country has practically depended on it; our woolen industry could not have been in existence if there had been no protective tariff. England could have supplied our woolens in such a way that no American capital would have ventured for a moment into the competitive arena. There is no doubt but what the great iron industries owe ever so much in their early history to the tariff.

How did the tariff operate in this respect? What did it do? It gave the American market for whatever it was worth to the products of these industries. It is said to American capitalists in cotton, in silk, in wool, in iron, We will secure you at least the American market. That was the best market in the world and the most rapidly growing market, and it was a sufficient security to warrant capital to invest in those industries under those circumstances; and industry developed, developed so rapidly that we soon became not only the largest iron and steel consuming country in the world but the largest and most efficient iron and steel producing country in the world. In that respect it may be said that the large corporations owe their existence and possibility of development to the tariff. In the early years of its struggle it probably could not have existed without it.

But now as to the monopolistic element in these large corporations. Do they get that from the tariff? They get no more protection from the tariff than do any other corporations or producers, large or small, in the same field. Whatever element, therefore, there is of monopoly is clearly not due to the tariff, but due to the superior application of management and capital and enterprise to the industry. Their existence may be due to the tariff, the possibility of the de-

veloping so large a concern may be due to the tariff, but whatever there is that gives anything of superiority to one concern over another is not due to the tariff, because the tariff affects all alike, and whatever affects all alike does not give a monopoly to anybody.

It is undoubtedly true that the tariff does act as something of a barrier against foreign competition. If it did not there would be no excuse for having it. If, in competition with the foreigner, the little ones, those whose profits are nearly *nil*, could not hold their own who would die, the large or the small ones? Why, the small ones of course, and, if they were all wiped out by the lowering of prices which they could not compete with, it is true that the price of the whole product would go down, and to the extent that it did go down the profits of the big corporations would be lowered, and the small people who had practically no profits would be the ones that would disappear. So that, the tariff, to the extent that it is a barrier to competition from abroad, does not hold up the great corporations. It holds up their weaker competitors all over the country, and the continuance of the protective policy is necessary for these smaller concerns—for the individual producers—and not for the big corporations.

There is, therefore, no real connection between the protective tariff and the monopolistic element in our large corporations. Whatever benefit they get is indirectly by the growth of prosperity. If protection afforded a stimulus to that, whatever injury came by withdrawal of protection would reach them indirectly through the depression that would consequently follow in the community. So that, whether a concern is directly affected by the tariff or only indirectly, this injury would come to the ones that we want to save; not the great all-absorbing overreaching monsters, as we call them, but the very ones that we do not want to injure, the very ones that furnish the real competition, the very ones that have no monopolistic power at all.

## SINGLE TAX WOULD BE CONFISCATION

Since the death of Henry George, the adherents of the theory of single tax have shrunk to a mere handful. Indeed the theory is hardly ever seriously discussed now by thinking men; yet there are still a few hardy defenders of the heresy, although they champion it with ever-waning zeal. They fight as men who beat the air. But this doctrine is to have at least a brief recrudescence in the West, or it may be limited to the boundaries of Ohio, under the leadership of Tom Johnson. It is safe to say that had the single tax theory been carried into effect fifty years ago, Mr. Johnson would not now be enjoying the luxury of "unearned increment," and would not be able to "run" campaigns, and indulge the dreams and illusions of political ambition.

The advocacy of so discredited a political and economic theory reveals either the lack of versatility and inventiveness on the part of Mr. Johnson, or the desperate condition of his party. Single-taxers are few, even in a community in which Mr. Johnson has labored as an apostle for so many years. He can not expect to gain any recruits to his colors by advocating single tax, but of course he welcomes eagerly every additional ballot. It is very probable, however, that in Ohio, a state whose wealth is securely founded upon the possession of land and homes, a pernicious doctrine like the single tax, would drive from its advocate far more followers than it would attract to him.

It can not fail to be recognized, after an open discussion of the doctrine, that single tax is merely another name for confiscation of land. How this would appeal to the owners of homes and farms in Ohio may well be imagined. Of course, no one would charge the single-taxers with any confiscating motive, that is, any immoral motive. They say, and it is

nearly all they say, that we should have a single tax for the purpose of taking all the rent, that is, all the profit element that accrues to rented land. This idea does not in any way contemplate that taxes should be levied because the community needs the money. What would govern the size of the tax under the single tax idea? The size of the rent roll, that is all. No matter whether it is half enough to supply the needs of the community, or twice too much. The single tax says that rent belongs to us; we must find some way of confiscating it; and we'll do it by the method of taxation, because that is the respectable, recognized method by which the community can take anybody's wealth it chooses. Therefore we will have only one tax, and we will have it at least as large as the entire rent roll and it shall be governed by the rent roll. Here again we have the principle of confiscation and not the principle of taxation.

Mr. George in "Progress and Poverty" discusses the idea of taking this rent. He says, in effect: Why should we give them any compensation for the land? Why, no; they began by robbing and they have been going right on; the fact that they robbed me yesterday is no reason why they should repeat it today. We will take the rent, and they should be glad we did not take it long ago. The objection very naturally arises that all the land today has been purchased. Granting that it was once taken from some Indian or some barbarian by force, is it not true that the present owners have paid good wealth for it, have bought it in good faith, and therefore have had the sanction of the community for the moral right and legal title to the land? What do you say to the person who has honestly purchased his piece of land? Do you ruthlessly take it from him? Why, just the same, says Mr. George; the law has nothing to do with his mistake. He says: "Now what does the law allow to the innocent purchaser when the land for which he paid his money is adjudged to rightfully belong to another? Nothing at all. That he purchased in good faith gives him no right to his claim whatever. The law does not concern itself with the intricate question of compensation to the innocent purchaser." And further along he says: "The law

simply says, 'The land belongs to A, let the sheriff put him in possession.'

So that, in reality, Mr. George, at least, knew that he was advocating confiscation. He meant confiscation. He meant to ignore the right of centuries upon centuries of valid good intention and understanding in purchase, and have it wiped out by the pure act of confiscation.

Just look at our vacant lots in our cities, say the single-taxers; they are held for future speculation. Supposing they were all taken by the city and offered to anybody and everybody who could hold them if they utilized them for building, you would see factories and houses and shops erected on these lots, and labor would be employed and business would be stimulated.

Is there any advantage in the private ownership of these lots? Yes, there is great advantage in it. Supposing, twenty years ago, anybody could have had the land along Broadway who would put up a shanty or a building of any kind. What would have happened? Why, it would have been impossible to have had the concentration of business and the fine buildings that have been developed through the centre of this city. We would have had a lot of one-story shanties in the possession by people who squatted there and refused to move. The Astoria and the great office buildings and stores could not have been built where they are. We could not have a concentrated, beautified city that would keep up with the growth of civilization in its architecture and improvements, if the private ownership of the land were abolished and the power to retain land for further utility were destroyed. It is one of the economic truisms of society that when a man has a valuable corner he says: I will hold this for future price, and the price shall go up with the growth of society, and it shall be so high that it won't pay anybody to buy it for a hen-pen. Hence, it will only pay to buy it to put up the most modern building that can be devised. The result is that we get the best structures adjacent to the thoroughfares and centres of civilization, by the very reservation that the private ownership of the land gives to

choice lots. It is exactly the selecting process which is of real advantage to the community.

Another idea that is urged as justifying the confiscation of rent is, that wherever people can have land apart from rent they are best off; that just as fast as private ownership of land comes and rent rises, poverty sets in. It is a peculiar fact that, in this connection, the world over, without a solitary exception, wherever land pays no rent, those who occupy it have the greatest difficulty in getting a living. The people who own land that pays no rent are the barbarians of the earth. They are the people who can scarcely get food to eat and clothes to wear and a habitation to cover their heads. Wages are the lowest, poverty is the greatest, despotism is the most intense, ignorance the darkest, and degradation the most general where rent is the lowest and land is cheapest and the landlord does not appear.

There was never anything more directly antagonistic to all the facts of experience, all the data obtainable from every source than the idea that the abolition of rent would abolish poverty or that the people are best off where land is freest and cheapest. It is just as erroneous to assume, as this doctrine does, that the wages of laborers are governed by what people can earn on land that yields no rent. That is a cardinal point in the single tax doctrine. Now, land that pays no rent is on the outskirts of civilization, and what people earn on that land is about what Indians live upon. Every workingman, every intelligent person, knows that what can be obtained from that land does not govern the wages of the laboring classes. Everybody knows that the ordinary mechanic in New York gets twenty times as much as the laborer can get from that kind of land. Everybody knows that the wages of mechanics bear no proportion to the wages of people who work on any sort of land. Agricultural wages the world over are lower than those of mechanics in the same country. What laborers can get from the land has nothing whatever to do with the wages of the community. There are no facts in connection with wages that bear out that assumption.

The man who lives on the outskirts of civilization and

tills the land is the man who is farthest removed from society and has the fewest socializing influences in his life; he is content with a lower standard of living, content with fewer things, and he, like everybody and everything else, can command from those who employ him or from those who buy his products, or from society, only what he can effectively demand, and he will effectively demand only what he can utilize and what he can consume. The barbarian can demand but little from anybody. The man who will live on rice can never demand 50 cents a day from anybody. It is not what the laborer can produce on a piece of no-rent land, but what civilization has made his standard of living, that determines his wages.

The single tax has no justification for the confiscation element upon which it rests. It is taxation for confiscation, without any economic, moral, political, or social justification. There is no form of taxation which is merely applied for the purpose of taking property that is not injurious to every phase of social life.

## SOCIALISM NOT PRACTICABLE

It is already evident that the Democrats are to make the campaign of 1904 a struggle for the establishment in our system of government of every manner of political and economic heresy. In 1896 and 1900 Mr. Bryan represented in his own person and creed almost every disreputable "ism" then known in politics, and he still stands as the chief defender of them. Mr. Bryan and his creed are to be taken over into the next national campaign, although Mr. Bryan himself has ceased to be the sole master of the situation. Along with him there is to be taken into the campaign another picturesque figure, Tom Johnson of Ohio, the advocate of all of Mr. Bryan's particular heresies, and the promulgator of doctrines even more dangerous than any ever championed by the Nebraskan. Ohio will therefore be the scene of the first engagement in the real campaign of 1904, which begins in the struggle for the Ohio legislature and governorship.

Perhaps the word "socialism" sums up or includes more of the "isms" and doctrines of Tom Johnson than could be expressed by any other single word. He believes in many other things—single tax, anti-trust, free silver, etc.—but most of his doctrines now troop under the flag of socialism, which has rallied all the groups and factions that advocate political and economic vagaries, with the hope that any blow at established prosperity and the existing order must ultimately help their own purposes. Socialism of course has the same hope, and the service of every faction of malcontents is eagerly enlisted, in order that, upon the ruins of present society, there may be established the "social state".

Socialism is founded chiefly upon the theory that all wealth is produced by labor, and consequently, in equity, all wealth belongs to labor; then, defining labor as the wage worker, it concludes that all wealth belongs to the wage classes, and that all other classes are but so much parasitic growth; consequently, they come to the conclusion that profits, interest, and rent are all robbery,—committed against labor.

This is an entire mistake. It is an error at the very basis of the socialist system of thought. Time was when labor did

produce all wealth and then there was very little wealth produced. Whatever was produced under savagery was purely by hand labor, and then it was true to say that labor produced it all. It is also true to say that in that stage of society labor got it all. There were no capitalists to take it from them. And it is further true that not only did labor produce it all and get it all, but it produced less and got less than in any time in the world's history. In other words, when it produced it all and had it all it received the least it ever did. When capital was introduced wealth was increased, and it was increased not by the increased expenditure of muscle, not even by increased expenditure of inventive genius on the part of the laborers, but by the increased application of mechanical appliances to the methods of production. As a matter of history, labor has generally opposed every such new appliance. When the spinning-jenny and the spinning frame and the mule and the power loom were introduced, the laborers smashed them, tore down the buildings in which they were erected, and drove the inventors from their homes because they thought the new machines were going to destroy their livelihood. As a matter of fact, they greatly increased the wealth produced, and with every introduction of these scientific innovations the laborers have shared in the surplus product.

The method by which this comes is, first, by increasing the quantity of wealth without proportionately increasing the cost, and the cost is always finally expressed directly or indirectly in human labor. The first effect of this is to give the capitalist who, either by borrowed capital or his own, introduced the innovation, and he becomes wealthy, relatively to the rest of society. Under freedom of industry, where competition is permitted to operate, this wealth very soon enters upon a process of distribution. If the product has been increased one-quarter without any increase of cost, at first this gain goes to profits. As soon as the method which created this is fairly well established, others begin to imitate and compete in the sale of the products. The only method of doing this is by lowering the price, and thus, sooner in some cases than in others, but ultimately always in all cases, the additional wealth

which is brought into existence by this new device of capital is distributed to the community in the lowered prices of the commodities produced. At the same time and as the result of the same forces the laborers are learning to use more, want more and demand more, and finally to get more in wages. Thus the distribution is taking place in two ways: one by a lowering of prices and the other by an increasing of wages.

The socialists who claim that all belongs to the laborers are historically, economically, and ethically wrong. They neither created it nor inspired it. The truth is that the 45 per cent. increased product is due to nature, as a joint result of human ingenuity, experimentation, and effort, and of the general social and economic conditions of the time. Under present conditions, as already explained, at first that 45 per cent. goes to the capitalist, because he supplied the machine, but, just as soon as it is discovered how effective the new device is, others get it, and the 45 per cent. of surplus is soon reduced by competition to 35, and 25, and 10, and finally to nothing. This 45 per cent. increase, by this process, goes to the entire community. It goes, not exclusively to the ones who introduced the new device, nor to those who happen to operate it, but to the whole community through the reduced prices of products that the machine has effected. Now that is the most ethical and equitable distribution that could possibly be made of the surplus. It does not all belong to the laborer who made the machine, it does not all belong to the laborer who operates the machine, it does not all belong to the capitalist who furnished the capital. None of these can or ought exclusively to get it and keep it. In the very economic movement of society it is distributed, a little to each of these and a little to the consumers of the products throughout the community. Thus in reality we have an altogether more equitable distribution of that surplus than we should have if it were all to go to the laborer as the socialists demand.

Another question regarding socialism is: Would the productive forces of the community be better administered and more successfully conducted under the *régime* of socialism than under the present individual and corporate method of organiza-

tion? Of course the prime question here is (and it really is the only question with which the public is ultimately concerned): Under which system would capital and the organization of industry be most successfully conducted? The public, in the broadest sense, is interested in this subject only to the extent of getting the best results. It would be justified in suppressing corporations if they made commodities dearer or poorer, or wages lower, or individual rights less. If large corporations furnish better and cheaper goods and conveniences than small ones, then on that score at least the public is interested in encouraging large corporations, and *vice versa*. Whether we shall have private corporations or public socialism turns upon the same question.

The argument put forth in defense of socialism is that these great industrial enterprises would give better productive results if they were the property of the government than they do under private administration. If this could be demonstrated it would absolutely justify the demands of socialism, regardless of the fallacy of the economic doctrines upon which it rests. What are the probabilities,—because probabilities are all we can have in discussing that aspect of the subject? Has the world given us any experiments in socialism by which public ownership or public management can be tested? In early society, in the primitive communities, common ownership was the rule, and, when it was the rule, poverty, hand labor and comparative barbarism was the condition. Progress toward every phase of improvement in personal character, intellectual and political freedom, higher social conditions and more wealth for the masses, has all come through the movement which has been directly away from socialism toward individualism.

In modern times, say during this century, there have been a few crude experiments in socialistic administration of industries. There have been several communities established in which selfishness was to disappear and altruism be the dominant motive and practise of everybody. One after another every such socialistic attempt has failed,—failed because it was unnatural, failed because it called for the exceptional, which does not exist in the average human character.

## MAYOR LOW AND DISTRICT-ATTORNEY JEROME

When partisan politics was eliminated from municipal affairs by the great Fusion movement, it was the hope of all friends of good government that this reform would be made permanent, in this city at least, by a good administration and by the steadfast support of all classes of citizens. But, regretted as it must be by all persons interested in good municipal government, certain persons with political ambitions of their own are attempting to restore the old order and have even injected into the present campaign a decidedly partisan, and even a personal element. It is not astonishing that Mr. William Hepburn Russell should take an active part in the resuscitation of party politics, or that he should revert in type and go back to Tammany Hall; but it is indeed lamentable that a man like Mr. Jerome deserts his colors and the principles for which he fought so gallantly two years ago.

In taking the action that he has recently done, as announced in his already famous letter to Mr. Nadal of the Citizens' Union, Mr. Jerome not only revives some of the spirit of party politics, but has even made the matter a personal one as between himself and Mayor Low. This was not to be expected of the District-Attorney. No man made a better fight for the city than Mr. Jerome did in favor of the Fusion ticket at the election in 1901, and no single man in that campaign was more responsible than he for the success that attended the reform fight. Throughout his administration of the office of District-Attorney, he has shown great ability, broadmindedness, and remarkable clearness of judgment and freedom from political bias. He has made, in other words, the ideal official that the people expected him to make when they so enthusiastically came to his support on the Fusion ticket. His letter to the Citizens' Union, in which he makes a very bitter and a very ridiculous attack upon Mr. Low, marks a precipitous descent from his high position and really stamps him as a politician of a very low order. He has made an already deplorable position worse by his publication of the exceedingly foolish and unauthorized letters of Mr. Thomas Fulton.

Of course it is entirely proper that Mr. Jerome, as well as any other citizen of New York, should be at full liberty to choose his own side in any political controversy. No one would challenge this individual right either in a person occupying Mr. Jerome's office, or in a citizen entirely in private life. It would have been perfectly honorable and unquestionable conduct on his part, if Mr. Jerome had openly declared that he could not support the Fusion ticket and aline himself with whatever faction he chose; but there was a clean and honorable way for this to be done, and that way Mr. Jerome either did not or could not find. At any rate, he did not follow it, but has made his choice in a manner that must be regarded as almost treacherous.

Some time ago it was known that the Fusion forces of this city would meet in conference. It was fully known that in that conference a candidate for Mayor would be selected. Before the meeting of that conference was the proper time for Mr. Jerome to speak out, if he had any sincere desire to influence the Fusion leaders in their selection of a candidate for Mayor.

Is it possible that Mr. Jerome withheld his open opposition to Mayor Low, because he expected or hoped that the Fusion leaders might select him for their candidate for Mayor instead of Mr. Low? This seems to be the only construction that can fairly be put upon Mr. Jerome's conduct. It would seem that as soon as he ascertained that there was no longer any hope that he would be chosen as the Fusion candidate, he attacked Mayor Low. It was then too late for Mr. Jerome to be selected, and the only effect that could possibly follow his attack on his chief was to injure the prospect of the Fusion ticket. This of course marks Mr. Jerome as outside the breast-works, and as an enemy of Fusion.

The weakness of the District-Attorney's position is shown most clearly in the nature of his assault. He admits that the Mayor has faithfully discharged the duties of his office, but, alas! he has no sense of humor. The Mayor has been a good official, but he can't understand or crack a joke. Mr. Jerome's only serious charge is that the Mayor is not humorous. This

is the most facetious remark that the District-Attorney has made in a career sprinkled with scintillating wit. It might be shown that if Mr. Low was humorous he could not be Mayor, more easily than Mr. Jerome can prove that he can not be Mayor because he is humorous. No humorist can be elected to office in the United States. Bill Nye could not have been president, nor Josh Billings, secretary of state. Artemus Ward may have made a good postmaster-general, and Sam Slick an amiable secretary of the interior; but not one of these jesters could have been elected to office. If they ever got into office it would be through the ministration of a kind and forgiving friend.

The Americans, like the English, want a certain soberness, seriousness, dignity, in their public men. Mr. Low may have too much of these qualities to suit the humorous nature of Mr. Jerome, but he had not too much of it to suit the voters of this city. He has the qualities that make for good, clean, efficient government—for the kind of government that this city has seen during the past two years and had not seen before for many years.

Mr. Jerome has not produced a single argument why Mr. Low should not be re-elected, the reasons he gives are entirely inconclusive. It can not be truthfully charged that Mr. Low is unpopular, when it is well known that in Brooklyn he transferred a Democratic into a Republican majority; and that in this city, although with the forces of Republicanism and Democracy against him in his first race, he polled a magnificent vote of the citizens of New York, who favored him and his cause of good government; and when, in the last election, he ran with the best of the men on his ticket, and was exceeded in the total of the votes only by men who were peculiarly popular in a personal as well as in a political way. No other man, at the head of the Fusion ticket of 1901, would have received, it can safely be contended, as large a vote as Mr. Low, and it is safe to assert that no other man in the city of New York can draw to the Fusion ticket this year as large a following as will rally to it if Mayor Low is still at its head.

## THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM

The Far Eastern problem has been a little obscured for the time by occurrences in the Balkans that have revived with terrible acuteness the problem of the Near East. However, the Far Eastern question is of greater importance in itself, and is of far more interest to this country. It is probable that the present phase of the Near Eastern question will be disposed of within a few weeks or months, while the Far Eastern problem will loom continually larger until the day of its solution in the disaster or triumph of civilization.

The trouble in the Balkans may lead to war between Turkey and Bulgaria, or even between Turkey and Russia, or between Turkey and Russia, Austria, and the Balkan states combined. It may lead to one of the most important wars that have yet occurred. But even with these tremendous possibilities, the Far Eastern problem is of much vaster importance. In the latter there is not so limited an area of danger. It may result at any moment in a war that would certainly involve Russia, Korea, Japan, and China, and would very probably draw into the struggle, besides these nations, England, France, and Germany. Such a war would extend from Tokyo to Petersburg, and there would be engaged in it, at its worst, some 800,000,000, or 1,000,000,000 people, or more than half the human race.

It is remarkable that in both the Near Eastern and in the Far Eastern problem, as well as in the problem of the central East, Russia is the controlling factor. The question is chiefly how far Russia will dare to go in her ambition to absorb Turkey, India, and China. The answer to this question would be also the answer to the three greatest problems in modern world politics.

In her aggressions in the Far East, Russia has pursued, even more successfully than usual with her, the policy of apparent inaction, while fortifying herself, and making it almost impossible for her adversaries to dispossess her. This was her successful policy in her wonderful conquest of Central

Asia, it is still her policy in that slow serpent-like movement with which she continually crawls over the Pamirs toward the Indian frontier. It is probable that by this time she has obtained such a foothold in Manchuria as will make it impossible, without tremendous sacrifice of life and treasure, to force her back to the Amur. In addition to her railway lines and her fortified posts in Manchuria, she has thoroughly established herself in three strong ports—Vladivostok, Dalny, and Port Arthur. She has also made some progress in her quiet conquest of Korea, and doubtless has established positions of great military value either within or upon the frontier of that country.

But October 8, the day set for evacuation, is now so near, and the preparations, if any, for such a movement have been so slight, that it seems impossible for the evacuation to take place on that day or any time near enough to satisfy those who expect Russia to fulfill her treaty obligations. The only step she has taken that could be construed as preparation for the withdrawal of her armies have been the movements of troops from one point to another, and this could well be mere steps in the better mobilization of her troops. The only interpretation that can be placed upon Russia's words and her actions is that she intends to hold Manchuria.

The situation with regard to Manchuria, which has made more acute the long-standing Far Eastern problem, was brought about by the very nations that are now most loudly protesting against it. After the Japanese victory over China in 1894, the Japanese took possession of the peninsula of Liao-tung, with Port Arthur. Russia, Germany, and France were not willing that Japan should so entrench herself on the Asiatic continent, and, with the consent of England, demanded her withdrawal. The demand was complied with. Consequently, especially during the "Boxer" insurrection, Russia took possession of all the territory that had been occupied by Japan, and the entire province of Manchuria. This of course places the protestants in a very awkward position, and leaves Russia in a very enviable one, from a diplomatic point of view. The Far Eastern question, therefore, has resolved itself into a problem of un-

doing the mischief that was done by giving Russia a free entrance to Manchuria and to the ports of the Pacific.

Russia has utilized every hour of her occupancy of Manchuria, until she has now obtained grasp upon every highway and strategic position in that province, and has also begun to carry out her purpose of seizing Korea. Here she will meet, of course, the more serious opposition of Japan; for Japan can not view with unconcern the occupancy of Korea by any foreign power. Whether the irritation caused Japan by this filching of her just spoils of war, and by the occupancy of Manchuria, and the threatened occupancy of Korea will result in war, can not possibly be ascertained without a knowledge of the secret councils of the Japanese government. But it seems inevitable that if Russia continues her designs upon Korea, war must follow in a short time.

It is unfortunate that the only power openly opposed to Russian aggression in the Far East is Japan. Of course if the aggressions of Russia were carried to the point when an open attack were made upon Korea or China, it is probable that both these countries would resist, and it is also probable that England would be drawn into war as the ally of Japan. The danger, however, is that Russia's seizure of territory is made by such adroit and imperceptible means that her purpose is accomplished before her victims recognize her object. This was true in Manchuria, and was also true as to the acquisitions of Russia in Siberia and Central Asia.

Western powers, however, are deeply interested in the Far Eastern question. The principal of these are England, with her large commerce in Chinese waters, and her important possessions at Hong Kong, Shanghai, etc.; Germany, which now has a large foothold at Kiau-chau and has designs upon the entire province of Shan-tung; France, with her enormous possessions in Cochin China, Tonking, and Siam; and the United States, which, if the Philippines are to be held, will always be interested in the fate of China, Korea, and Japan. France has already arrayed herself with Russia, and has given notice in response to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which seemed to threaten war with Russia, that the dual alliance applies to

all questions in the Far East. The English alliance with Japan is limited by the provision that, in the event of war between Japan and any one power, England will not necessarily come to her aid. If Japan and Russia chose to decide the controversy by war, it is possible and perhaps probable that neither England nor France would be drawn into it. Germany would probably hold aloof, in any event, unless it came to a question of the division of China, and she could not get as large a share as the ambitions of the strenuous young Kaiser demanded. However, a war, once begun, would inevitably spread over China and Korea, and it would consequently involve the Chinese possessions of all the European powers besides jeopardizing their commercial interests and would also threaten trouble in Tonking and in India, with the result that almost every great power of the world would be vitally interested in the issue.

In this crisis, Japan has a truly noble purpose in view, which, although it is occasionally sneered at by Western writers, is still strong enough to transform a conflict in the Far East into a racial and almost a holy war. This is the preservation of the yellow or Mongol race. Japan, by reason of her intelligence, and high civilization, now holds the hegemony of this race. The race peoples the countries of Japan, Korea, China, Siam, and Tonking, and numbers some 600,000,000. With the exception of the Japanese, it is totally untrained and unaccustomed to war, and is unfitted to attack or resist; but its fate is placed at stake by the rapid and conscienceless aggression of Russia in the Far East. Japan has espoused the cause of the race, and wishes to aid China and Korea in preserving their national integrity. She can succeed in this if time is allowed for Japanese officers to train the Chinese army, so that China may herself have power to oppose the Russian advance on Pekin. Time, therefore, fights for both sides—for Russia by giving her space in which to carry out her plots, and for Japan by allowing an opportunity for the preparation of the Chinese for a successful resistance.

There have been made numberless efforts to solve the Far Eastern question, especially within recent years. No pro-

gram has been suggested that would satisfy all the powers interested, and no program can be devised that would satisfy Russia, unless it gave to her at one stroke all of Asia. She would be content with nothing less, for her design includes the conquest of Turkey in Europe and Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, India, Tibet, and China. Outside of the Asiatic continent there would still be Japan unconquered, perhaps unconquerable; but entirely isolated and powerless. All efforts toward settling the question in its present phase, by trying to persuade Russia to evacuate Manchuria and content herself with her magnificent possessions in the Amur valley, have proved absolutely fruitless; and all efforts have now shrunk to the insignificant measure of having Russia declare as open ports some insignificant towns of the captured province.

One notable effort in the last mentioned direction was made by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, and it has been announced that he has achieved a wonderful triumph of diplomacy in having Russia consent to the opening of the two ports of Tatung-kao, and Mukden. The Russian authorities even deny that Mr. Hay has achieved this wonderful victory, but still England and America credit him with it. Unfortunately, however, in order to get this concession from Russia it was necessary for the United States to take a position that practically recognized the suzerainty of Russia in Manchuria. We dealt with Russia, rather than with China, the real sovereign of the country. When China was appealed to by Mr. Hay, the reply of the Chinese authorities was that of course they could do nothing toward opening the ports as long as they were in the possession of Russian troops; so that the American triumph, if such it be, has added nothing toward the solution of the Far Eastern question; and has rather contributed toward its complexities and difficulties. Russia has gained another argument against the protest of the United States and Europe. She is in possession, and her suzerainty has been practically recognized by the United States, the friend of China and Japan.

One of the most important questions in relation to the Far Eastern problem, and perhaps the one in which the world

in general takes the most interest, is the purpose and the power of Japan to challenge Russian possession in Manchuria and Korea. Of course the entire situation is in the hands of Japan. She can force war at any hour, and she can practically force it where and how she wishes. Very few observers of the situation doubt this, but perhaps most of those who have studied the situation doubt the power of Japan to check Russia, and certainly despair of her being able to force Russia out of Manchuria and back upon the Amur. Japan unquestionably would hesitate to engage in war, and would probably suffer long before she forced matters to a hostile issue. It will take some time to absorb China, and Japan would have an opportunity of assisting her neighbor in other, and probably better, ways than by fighting Russia unaided.

But the situation in which Japan is placed is not as desperate as it appears to many. She holds a position that practically guarantees her from any serious attack by Russia. That, of course, is a tremendous advantage. The sea, which so often saved Greece, and has so often prevented England from conquest, will be of service to Japan in preventing any serious Russian attack upon her coast. On the other hand, by her superiority on the sea, Japan could hold the mastery on the Pacific, as compared with Russia, and could seal up with her ships the ice-free ports for which Russia has expended so much life and treasure. The Siberian railway would be rendered almost worthless, and the ports would be absolutely so. Besides, Japan could land enough troops in Korea to make that country a Japanese province, and could probably advance to the Manchurian frontier and force Russia to fight along lines of defense chosen and fortified by the skill of her officers. It is exceedingly questionable whether Russia could force back a Japanese line that could be repeatedly reinforced and supplied with munitions of war.

So that the advantageous position of Japan may be such as to enable her to force Russia to a compromise that would relieve China and Korea from pressure, and would solve, for years at least, the most irritating phase of the Far Eastern question.

## THE BLAZE IN THE BALKANS

EDWIN MAXEY

For many years the rule of the Turk in Europe has been an anachronism. His ideas of civilization, of religion, of government, have been out of joint with the spirit of the age. To him civilization means reaction, religion is a weapon to be used by the strong against the weak, and government is but a means of plunder and oppression under religious sanction. To these ideas he clings with a tenacity born of fanaticism. The ruling class manifests neither the inclination nor the ability to adjust itself to changed ideas and conditions. Yet a readjustment is necessary not only to the peace but to the self-respect of Europe.

The present revolution in the Balkans is therefore not sporadic, but is rather the legitimate outgrowth of conditions that have existed too long. The agitators or leaders in the movement may be irresponsible and undeserving; but below the froth that appears on the surface is the irresistible current of human progress. The natural striving of mankind for the realization of better conditions may at times be misguided, may err in the choice of means, yet it is a force that ultimately either dissolves or sweeps from its path all obstacles to its progress.

It not infrequently happens that the change in conditions necessary to progress can be brought about by a variety of means. But in the present case there seems to be no room for a choice of means, since force is the only means that appeals to the Turk. From one point of view at least the question is a very simple one, to wit: what amount of force will be necessary, and who shall exert it? The answer, to which involves a consideration of several factors. We may answer the first part of the question without difficulty if we are content to answer it in a general way; for it is clear that sufficient force must be exerted to crush the Sultan. But in order that the answer may

have value, we must inquire into the military strength of the Sultan.

According to the best available statistics, the Turkish army consists of about 700,000 troops on a peace footing, and on a war footing it would number 1,500,000. At present the army is made up of seven corps, four of which are in Asia. The organization is very similar to that of the German army, as it has been organized principally by German officers. Four companies form a battalion and four battalions a regiment; two regiments form a brigade, two brigades a division, and two divisions a corps. A battalion on a war footing consists of 24 commissioned officers, 62 non-commissioned officers, and 836 men. It is therefore somewhat smaller than an American regiment. A regiment of Turkish cavalry of the line, of which there are at present 38, consists of 39 officers, 647 men and 880 horses, inclusive of the pack train. Each army corps is supposed to have three batteries of horse artillery, and six regiments of field and mountain artillery. Each battery has, when on a war footing, six guns. In addition to the above force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, there are 19 engineer companies, four companies for telegraph and 13 for train service.

But while the Turkish army has under the direction of foreign officers been developed into a very efficient fighting machine, it must be remembered that the entire strength could not be used against either a foreign enemy or a revolted part of the empire. For in the former event a considerable portion of her force would be needed to maintain peace within, and in the latter a part, at least, would be found in the ranks of the insurgents, and another portion would be necessary to keep the peace in distant provinces. The exact number that would have to be deducted for these reasons it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate; but any one at all acquainted with the situation knows that it would be a considerable percentage of the whole army. For instance, there are at present four of the seven army corps in Asia, and it is exceedingly doubtful if more than one of the four would be available for service in Europe. While of the three European corps, many regiments have been recruited from among the Bulgarians and Macedonians, so that

we must make another deduction, for it requires no great study to determine in what direction their rifles will point in the present conflict. The force to be overcome, and hence the amount of force to be exerted, is therefore not so great as is commonly supposed.

Before leaving this part of the subject it may be well to note that the Turkish treasury is empty, and that it is exceedingly doubtful if the Sublime Porte could place a loan in any foreign country. Whatever may have been true of earlier times, money or credit is a well-nigh indispensable factor in modern warfare. While the bashi-bazouks may live by plundering, the body of the army must be supported out of the treasury.

The Turkish navy need not be discussed, because there is practically no Turkish navy. The few ships are small and most of them were built more than twenty-five years ago, so that they are now obsolete. Nor is their age and size the only consideration that counts against them; for here, as in the case of the late Spanish navy, corruption among high officials has, by diverting a considerable portion of naval appropriations to private uses, made the navy appear on paper to be something which it is not in fact.

As to the second question, Who will exert the requisite force? there is greater uncertainty than with reference to the first. To a consideration of this question, a glance at the history of the Near Eastern question is indispensable. This question has in one form or another vexed Europe for more than a century. If any one doubts Russia's willingness to use force against Turkey, provided she were reasonably sure that the fruits of her victory would not be taken from her by a combination of the powers, he has but to review the events culminating in the treaties of Kutchuk, Kainardji, Jassy, Bucharest, Ackerman, Adrianople, Unkiar Skelessi, and San Stefano. Had Russia been permitted to enforce against Turkey the terms of the treaty of San Stefano, the power of the latter in Europe would now be a negligible quantity. She was not permitted to do this, because the other powers could not make such action on her part harmonize with the political arithmetic

of their own interests. This was particularly true of England, as the possession of Constantinople by Russia would threaten the English lines of communication with India. But English opposition to Russian advance in the Balkans has of late years weakened considerably, so that if conditions should seem to render it imperative, England would no longer oppose Russian intervention in behalf of humanity and the establishment of a Russian protectorate. But Russian intervention single-handed may yet be considered so undesirable as to drive the powers into a joint intervention, the natural result of which would be the formation of a buffer state in the Balkans with its neutrality guaranteed, as is that of Belgium and Switzerland. This would be the most expedient and by far the most humane method of bringing order out of anarchy.

It is not outside the realm of possibilities that a sufficiently strong alliance can be formed about Bulgaria as a centre to render intervention by either Russia or the powers unnecessary. For by far the greater part of Macedonia can be counted on of a certainty, and Servia and Greece would be naturally impelled by ties of blood and religion to join the alliance against their inveterate enemy. There would also be a large number of volunteers from various parts of the world. To this method of settlement there are two very serious objections: (1) it would involve a vast amount of useless slaughter; and (2) it is doubtful if left to themselves those people have sufficient political instinct to organize a united, orderly state, one which would have sufficient strength to command respect and a population of sufficient political genius to make of them a law-abiding, peaceable, permanent commonwealth.

Our interests do not warrant our taking any part further than to protect the lives and property of our own citizens. Beyond this, the unfortunate situation is the heritage of Europe, and Europe must deal with it. It is to be hoped that she will act promptly and humanely; that she will settle the Near Eastern question once for all by the overthrow of Turkish rule in Europe, and the ousting of the Sultan from the exercise of a trust which he and his predecessors have abused for centuries.

## THE OLD AND THE NEW REGIME IN THE SOUTH

MYRTA LOCKETT AVARY

There are now three types of women in the South, shading the one into the other, but still, in certain distinguishing features, peculiar each unto itself. It may be said that there are three distinct types in the North corresponding to these, which classification may again be chiefly referred to; but at present we will look at feminine evolution in "Dixie," where for special reasons it is a very fascinating and attractive subject. The living types are so marked, that their study is especially instructive as throwing high light upon fluctuations in feminine nature the world over.

Compare the progressive, restless, "hustling" new woman found in social, intellectual, and philanthropic leaders in the South of today with the dignified, poised, reserved woman who lingers yet in their grandmothers, but who, as a type, may be passing entirely away, or who may, perhaps, as part of a "composite," reappear in a charming new type to be evolved, if, indeed, it is not already present in a few delightful instances, making a fourth type,—the woman who is at once progressive and reposeful.

The changing political faith of the Southern woman finds expression in the three types—the grandmother, intensely Southern, unreconstructed, more or less unforgiving (in words, for she is tender as an angel in deeds); her daughter, more than a shade intensely Southern and unreconstructed; her granddaughter, loyal and loving to the past as to a memory, an inspiration, a faith, but in herself an American, a United States woman, yielding fealty to two flags, the Stars and Bars for which perchance her grandfather died, and the Stars and Stripes under which her brother, her lover, her husband, or her son may now be serving in a uniform of Federal blue. The grandmother is not quite content that this fealty should be so fervid; the granddaughter wonders why grandmama

should so consider the matter—should be rather hurt at her own attitude. Her mother says, she is jealous for her old flag; it is to her as the grave of her dead. She knows, too, that text-books, doing scant justice to that cause and its defenders, have been studied in our schools. It is only that she is true to the past as well as to the present; that past is sealed with the blood of those dear to her, with suffering and privation and struggle and heroism unspeakable. She remembers the martyrs of the "Lost Cause." The granddaughter remembers them, too; not for their strife and anguish, but for their valor and for their glory. The former she did not see, did not share, can not realize. The latter she holds a priceless heritage, and not as a Southern woman only, but as an American; and she will tell you with American authority: "Lee's statue will yet stand in our capitol at Washington; and it is a shame that Jefferson Davis's statue is not at West Point, where the museum is full of flags and trophies he brought home from Mexico." She has for chums descendants from great Northern generals who think as she does. Perhaps she is married to one; and the child of that union is proud of both grandfathers and will see to it that due honor is rendered both. She has her counterpart in the Northern woman married to the son of some Confederate leader, her son bearing a name famous in the annals of the Confederacy. Her mother and grandmother have counterparts in the Northern woman's mother and grandmother. That Northern grandmother has nothing but hard words for the Confederacy and all who fought for it—though she has no hardness in her soul, and like her Southern sister of the old order, is tender as an angel to all who come her way.

The labors of the three classes of Southern women described are represented in the Confederate Museum in Richmond. At the bazar lately held in the Virginia capitol for the benefit of this institution, and to raise a monument to Jefferson Davis, all three worked side by side and with equal devotion; from every state in the union contributions were received, Southerners who had become citizens of New England, the North, and the West sending their gifts as evidence

of allegiance to a sacred past. There was strange pathos in the work of the gray-haired women who had suffered so much for the Confederacy in their last "bazar" for its honor. What they and their younger helpers did was well done, from a broad point of view. In the relics they have gathered there they are preserving American history.

The new note in the life of her womanhood, political, temperamental, and social, was the first thing that impressed me in returning to "Dixie" after an absence of more than ten years, and it impressed me first in my native Virginia, in her capital city and in the rooms of the Woman's Club of Richmond, the most conservative woman's club in the country, and which is aristocratic and exclusive, purely social and literary, and never takes a hand in politics; and it is one of the most liberal, cultured, and delightful companies in the world. A circle of young matrons, speaking of issues of the day, took positions, harmonizing Northern and Southern points of view. "And our grandmothers do not understand how we can feel this way," they said. Their attitude to the flag is one of reverence and affection; that of their grandmothers is not, and can not be, for that flag meant terror and death and destruction to them in the sixties. For the last ten years it has been my frequent duty and privilege to teach the flag salute and the flag drill and flag songs to little foreigners in New York's East Side; and I love the flag; but that love fills me sometimes with indignation as I think of things that were done beneath its folds by some who were unworthy to carry it when an invading army went South,—things that New England grandmothers would abhor with all their kind brave souls.

And now for the new temperamental and social note, which is not so picturesque and dramatic a phase but which is of broader interests, since it reflects the world-wide evolution of womanhood in a place where types in transition are so marked that clinical study is very easy. "The difference between the new and the old *régime*," said one very cultured woman to me, "is the new *régime's* lack of manners. It is as apparent in the men as in the women; it is apparent in the

servants. Manners meant a great deal to the negroes of the old *régime* as they did to their superiors, and servants took great pains in training their white and colored charges to habits of courtesy. The black 'mammy' had quite an idea of what was the proper thing to be done in given circumstances. Special teaching by her mistress and life-long association with gentlefolk who prided themselves on their manners had invested her with the dignity of a duchess and a code of etiquette that *grandes dames* of the present day might envy. The modern aphorism, 'I have not time to be polite,' would have struck her dumb with horror; she would have regarded it as rank heresy, for in her eyes being polite came second only to being religious."

Who shall say her attitude was not more truly advanced than that of the rushing world of to-day? Where, now, North, East, or West, do not meet the restful woman—the woman of repose? If you know, tell us; and we will arise and go to her; her presence will be a benediction; we will sit at her feet and learn of her. The woman of to-day is rushed and hurried out of placidity. We have not the time to study small details of manners, to observe the minute courtesies of life. The important matter is not how one behaves, not how one lives, but that one lives at all and that one does a great deal.

Another woman whom I consulted, a very public-spirited and patriotic one and a silver tongued orator at D. A. R. conventions and other gatherings, said: "My grandmother would look upon what I am doing now, not perhaps as exactly disgraceful, but certainly as something not to be referred to. For a woman to express her opinion in public was a thing unheard of in her day." The repose of which I have spoken seemed to me to belong to this woman. She was a picture of womanliness and restfulness; she has always time to be polite and gracious and to be beautiful. She is the admirable mistress of an attractive home, a pattern wife and mother. She is a Club woman, but her home duties come first. She is never absent from her place at the head of her husband's table, unless he and their children are away. His boast is that since their marriage they have taken very few meals

apart. If he had not the means to give her leisure of course she could not devote time to public affairs without imperiling her home life; she could not do it without sacrificing her repose of manner.

Another woman—a link between the old and new *régime*, says:

"The new Southern woman is not at all like the old; she is exactly like the Northern woman, she is more independent, more self-reliant, more able to take care of herself if thrown on her own resources. But in no other way is she superior to the woman of the old order. When it comes to true hospitality and true charity, I do not think she compares with her grandmother, although she entertains gorgeously and belongs to many charitable organizations. She is not so truly cultured, although she keeps up with current events, swallows books whole, and may be expert in parliamentary law."

The women who lived on the big plantations read a great deal, and they would not skim; they read good literature, but I do not agree that they were more cultured than the modern women. It was a custom for ladies, when active morning tasks were over, to assemble in the great halls of their residences or in summer houses in the yard and sew or do fancy work while some member of the group read aloud. What was read was discussed. They had a sort of domestic, every-day literary club, often the gentlemen joined them. Every girl in a family of good standing was in some degree a musician, and contributed through her playing or singing to the harmony of family life. The present musical standard that requires everyone to be as expert as a professional before playing or singing before one's family or friends, is destructive of home music and home ties.

"Though she does not know so well as her grandmother how to make home happy, she is far more keen after amusement and certainly more keen after display," says another critic of the modern woman. One lady says, as a contribution to this symposium: "The manner of the woman of the old *régime* was in itself a title of nobility, and in itself a power."

Under inquisition, a thoughtful woman of the new order—

an ideal one, progressive as a Bostonian, reposeful, and in her pronounced femininity as pretty as a picture responded: "A certain difference between women of the old and the new order exists everywhere. I dislike to speak of the Southern woman as if she were a thing apart, something peculiar. I dislike to hear the South, Southern people, Southern institution, Southern manners, provincialisms, anything about the South so spoken of. We are as other people, and not a separate species. All peoples have characteristic manners, institutions, and provincialisms; none more so than New England, as Mary Wilkins bears evidence."

In this very remark she showed a difference between herself and the women of the old order who are consciously and distinctively Southern and have no desire but to be so regarded. I called her attention to the fact.

She said: "The women of our generation call themselves Americans, our mothers call themselves Virginians, or Southerners. I do not like to feel that we are peculiar unto ourselves. Their state of mind is due to the impress of the war—it is the line of separation yet lingering. It did not exist before the war, certainly, when the South was emphatically American and the preponderating influence in America."

An idea once obtaining in the North about the Southern woman was that she was languid, incompetent—lazy, in plain terms. There never was a greater mistake. The mistress of a big Southern plantation had to be possessed of large administrative and executive ability, and she had to exercise it very industriously. She held in her hands, so to speak, the government of a small nation, and she had to see that its needs were met; its sicknesses, deaths, marriages, births, joys and sorrows had to be provided for in her scheme of management, and often through her personal ministrations was comfort and help administered. On the other hand, she was relieved of many domestic burdens, which the modern woman carries, by trained servants who took pride in the artistic discharge of their functions. I know of no position in modern society in any way analogous to hers save that of the English mistress of a large estate, whose responsibilities are not so

grave, because she has a more intelligent community under her control.

In the case of the modern woman, like executive ability, like energy is applied in a different direction. She organizes clubs, builds museums and monuments, and large charities spring up in her path. The woman of the old *régime* was responsible for the social, spiritual and industrial well-being of a limited circle; the woman of today carries the world in her heart and on her shoulders. She is broader here as everywhere than her predecessors because her outlook is broader. Contact with the outside world has made her so. Travel is the great equalizer; it brings the ends of the earth together and causes an evening up of differences all over the world through interchange of ideas, manners, and customs. The woman of the new world is modifying Europe. The English woman has become more like her American sister; more freedom is allowed the unmarried woman in England than ever before. In this evening up, individuality is lost, which is not an advantage from the artist's point of view, since for his purpose marked contrasts are desirable.

"For myself, I like the modern trend—the larger liberty for men and women," said my thoughtful new woman.

"It may be mentioned that caste lines still exist, but are not so strongly marked; wealth breaks them down, but not to such an extent as in the North, though the tendency is ever stronger in that direction.

"The leveling of conditions here as determined by occupation is a consequence of wholesale reduction to poverty by the war. The conduct of our men toward women in business is not as in the North. Women are treated with as much courtesy in an office as in a drawing-room; here, man pays certain deference to a woman everywhere—yet this is not so marked as in times when both masculine and feminine manners were firmer. Wealth does not determine social position to the same extent as in the North; at the same time it is making itself felt and dictating terms as it used not to do. The standards of luxurious living are being raised every day. And this imposes a stress and strain that destroys the balance

of living. In the old South there was much more time for fine courtesies than now, more time for cultivation of the moral and spiritual graces. Until we get back to the old quiet of life we will never have the old charm of life—here nor anywhere else."

The new woman—the fourth type, progressive and reposeful—are we ever to have her with us? Some of the women whom I have quoted seemed evidences in themselves that she is here, if but as the exception that may prophesy a rule. For perfection of this flower of grace the essentials are improved industrial conditions in the home, a saner limitation on her own part of the duties she requires of herself and a better estimate on the world's part of the value of luxurious living as a factor in social equation. Modesty in display of wealth, simplicity in mode of living should be recognized everywhere as the "good-form" stamping the true aristocrat—the thoroughbred—and differentiating him from all who put their trust in houses and lands, retinues of servants, and fabulous feastings, rather than in personal worth. It may sound Utopian now, but the time is surely coming when a reasonable poverty will be considered a badge of honor, and great riches an indication that one has not lived quite so finely as he might. One is obliged to pay for riches, and the payment is generally made in qualities of character.

Of the new woman that is on the way great things will be required, and we should smooth the path before her. It will be her part to make not only North and South homogeneous, but to make the world so—to unify all interests and raise the common standard of daily living not only in the home but in the public street and hidden by-way.

## HOW UNCLE SAM FEEDS HIS SAILORS

MRS. GEORGE M. STACKHOUSE.

The sailor is the prime factor in an efficient navy, and Uncle Sam takes care that his sailors shall be well fed, well clothed, and contented. Nowhere is there a better fed body of men than that found enlisted under the Stars and Stripes and wearing the blue jackets of the navy.

The navy ration is of course provided for by law, and the daily diet of the enlisted man must conform, in some degree, to this prescribed regimen; but infinite is the variety, and ample is the dietary realm of Jack the Sailor. As compared with the daily bill of fare of the working man on shore, the odds are greatly in favor of the sailor. Should he be inclined to grumble at his daily fare, it must be from caprice of appetite; for what laboring man enjoys better and more wholesome food? His food must be well cooked, and no bad cooks are allowed in the navy. When a cook is incompetent, he is reported, for Jack Tar's stomach must be kept in a healthy condition if our ships are to be manned with a sturdy lot of sailors. His food must be of the best quality, for it is no secret that Uncle Sam demands the best article in the market and gets it. The larger ships of the navy now have refrigerating plants of sufficient capacity to carry fresh meat that will ordinarily last from the time of leaving one port till another is reached. In recent years, the means of keeping fresh vegetables at sea for a long time have also been greatly improved, so that fresh provisions are served out at such times and in such quantities as to vary the sea ration. It can no longer be said that the men of the navy, when at sea, are compelled to live entirely on sea food which, as every body knows, consists of various tinned meats and vegetables.

The messing system on board a big man-of-war is as complex and complete as the table service of a big hotel.

The modern war-ship, with its five or six hundred persons on board, must be a floating hotel and storehouse in itself. Every vessel of the navy is required by the regulations governing the navy to have a general messing system. The enlisted men on ship are divided into squads of about twenty each, forming a mess. Chief petty officers and officers' servants are not included in this division. Every mess has one or two petty officers at its table, who fare like the men. Every mess has its special messman who brings the food from the galley and serves it at the table. It is also the messman's duty to see that the messtable and messgear are clean and in order.

The messes on board ship are under the direct supervision of the commissary department, which is under the control of the pay officer. The pay officer is also the commissary officer, and as such is entirely responsible for the general mess. It is his duty to see that food of the best quality and in sufficient quantity is bought and that it is properly prepared. He is also responsible for the condition of the stores, and keeps the accounts of the mess.

All food and cooking utensils in the galley are frequently inspected and every precaution is taken that everything shall be spotlessly clean, and that the food shall be of the greatest variety, wholesome, abundant, and appetizingly prepared and served.

The pay officer is assisted by a chief commissary steward, or, on a small ship, by a commissary steward, the cooks, and bakers, together with the storekeeper when there is a store aboard. These assistants comprise the enlisted force of the commissary department. It is the duty of the commissary officer and his assistants to deliver the food to the messmen at the galley. The commissary steward is in charge of the general mess, and acts under the direction of the commissary officer. He makes out a daily bill of fare, which is approved by the commissary officer, and the necessary articles of food are then issued to the cooks. It is the duty of the steward to see that the food is properly cooked at the galley. The men at the galley are in his charge, and it is also his duty to inspect frequently the food before it is sent

to the mess. Portions of every meal are carried to the officer of the deck for inspection as to the preparation and quality, and it is a well known fact among officers that those whose duty it is to pass upon the excellence of these articles, relish the dishes brought to them, and many an officer can testify to the delicious flavor of a steaming cup of Jack's coffee, or to the satisfaction to the inner man of a savory plate of his rich, thick bean soup.

The force at the galley is as complete and must be as capable as the force of a gun division. There are several kinds of cooks, who are of different ratings. There are cooks whose business it is to look after the fires, others who see to the preparation of the raw material. There are others, of lower ratings, who are stationed at certain places and whose business it is to clean the galley, pots, pans, and kettles used by the other cooks. There is a head cook who superintends and inspects all cooking, and reports to the commissary steward. Then there are "meat cooks," "vegetable cooks," and a man for the preparation of tea and coffee. Besides these, there is a baker, and on large ships, two bakers, who supply to the mess every day, between five and six hundred pounds of fresh bread, the amount being regulated by the number of the crew, each man being entitled to one and a quarter pounds of bread every day.

At sea, when the ship has been weeks from port, the variety or the palatability of food can not be equal to that obtainable when the vessel is at anchor near a base of fresh supplies. Therefore it requires a most judicious selection for the ration of the navy.

The food of the enlisted man on a ship of the United States navy is purchased, cooked, and served entirely at the expense of the government, the cost being about thirty cents a day for each man. As for variety, nourishment, and a liberal allowance, the list below will show for itself. Three times a day, Jack receives a full meal which may consist of some of the following articles allowed daily to each person: "One pound and a quarter of salt or smoked meat, with three ounces of dried, or six ounces of canned, fruit, and three

gills of beans or peas, or twelve ounces of flour; or one pound of preserved meat, with three ounces of dried or six ounces of canned fruit and twelve ounces of rice, or eight ounces of canned vegetables, or four ounces of desiccated vegetables; together with one pound of biscuit, two ounces of butter, four ounces of sugar, two ounces of coffee or cocoa, or one half ounce of tea and one ounce of condensed milk or evaporated cream; and a weekly allowance of one-half pound of macaroni, four ounces of cheese, four ounces of tomatoes, one-half pint of vinegar, one-half pint of pickles, one-half pint of molasses, four ounces of salt, one-quarter ounce of pepper, and one-half ounce of dry mustard."

These fresh provisions may be substituted whenever practicable: "For one and one-quarter pounds of salt or smoked meat or one pound of preserved meat, one and three-quarter pounds of fresh meat; in lieu of the article usually issued with salt, smoked or preserved meat, fresh vegetables of equal value; for one pound of biscuit, one and one-quarter pounds of soft bread or eighteen ounces of flour; for three gills of beans or peas, twelve ounces of flour or rice, or eight ounces of canned vegetables; and for twelve ounces of flour or rice, or eight ounces of canned vegetables, three gills of beans or peas."

To enlisted men of the engineer and dynamo force, standing watch between 8 o'clock at night and 8 o'clock in the morning, when the ship is under steam, the following is allowed in addition to their daily ration: "One ounce of coffee or cocoa, two ounces of sugar, four ounces of hard bread or its equivalent, and four ounces of preserved meat or its equivalent."

When flour is served, five pounds of lard or a suitable substitute are allowed for every hundred pounds of flour issued as bread. Yeast in sufficient quantity is also issued with the lard and flour. Tinned meats consist of canned roast beef, mutton, Chicago corned beef, brawn, ham, bacon, sausage, fish, either dried, smoked, canned or pickled, and various other kinds. Under the head of dried fruits, come: Dried apples, peaches, raisins, currants, prunes, figs, dates,

and dried fruit of all kinds. The new navy ration may also include sauerkraut, which may be issued as a kind of pickle. Canned peaches, pears, apricots, cherries, etc., are included in the list of canned fruits, but a better idea of the kind and variety of the food of the enlisted man in the navy may be gained, perhaps, from an ordinary bill of fare for seven days:

## MONDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Hamburger steak	Beef soup	Macaroni and cheese
Fried potatoes	Boiled beef	Cold beef
Bread	Potatoes—Pickles	Bread—Butter
Coffee	Bread—Butter	Tea
	Coffee	

## TUESDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Creamed codfish	Bean soup	Corned beef hash
Boiled potatoes	Salt pork	Rice pudding
Bread	Potatoes	Bread—Butter
Coffee	Pickles	Coffee
	Bread—Butter	
	Coffee	

## WEDNESDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Bacon and eggs	Roast lamb	Meat pie
Boiled potatoes	Potatoes	Canned fruit
Bread	Canned peas	Bread—Butter
Coffee	Bread—Butter	Tea
	Coffee	

## THURSDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Pork and beans	Salt beef	Codfish cakes
Bread	Potatoes	Stewed peaches
Coffee	Plum duff	Bread—Butter
	Bread—Butter	Tea
	Coffee	

## FRIDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Corned beef hash	Beef soup	Corned beef salad
Oatmeal and milk	Roast beef	Sauerkraut
Bread	Mashed potatoes	Boiled potatoes
Coffee	Canned corn	Bread—Butter
	Bread—Butter	Tea
	Coffee	

## SATURDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Beef stew	Smoked ham	Meat pie
Bread	Potatoes	Corn fritters
Coffee	Cabbage	Stewed apples
	Bread—Butter	Bread—Butter
	Coffee	Tea

## SUNDAY

<i>Breakfast</i>	<i>Dinner</i>	<i>Supper</i>
Pork and beans	Pot roast beef	Salmon salad
Bread	Potatoes	Canned peaches
Coffee	Canned corn	Bread—Butter
	Bread pudding	Tea
	Bread—Butter	
	Coffee	

Just as no housewife's kitchen is complete without a good cookbook wherein are stored tried and treasured recipes for savory dishes, so in the great kitchen on board a man-of-war, do we find the inevitable and invaluable cookbook. It is a medium-sized book, with plain linen covers, on the back of which is stamped in plain lettering: "General Mess Manual and Cookbook, U. S. Navy." It has been carefully prepared under the direction of the Paymaster-General of the Navy and published by the authority of the Secretary of the Navy, for use on board naval vessels of the United States.

A favorite dish with the sailor is plum duff. This is a kind of pudding and is made after this fashion:

Soak 25 pounds of stale bread in cold water and drain dry. Add 25 pounds of sifted flour, 5 pounds of suet chopped fine, 3 pounds of raisins, 5 pounds of sugar, 4 pounds of currants, 2 pounds of prunes, 3 tablespoonfuls of salt, 1 teaspoonful of ground cloves, 1 tablespoonful of ground cinnamon, and 1 wineglassful of vinegar, and mix all thoroughly with cold water. Turn the bags inside out, drop them into boiling water, render out slightly and drop into dry flour, dredging them thoroughly. Turn the bags flour side in and fill them with the pudding, securing the opening firmly, drop into the copper in which water is boiling and cook for at least two hours. If there is sufficient time, the pudding will be improved by boiling three or four hours.

The quantities of the ingredients in this recipe are intended to supply plum duff for one hundred men.

An interesting feature of the food supply aboard a big navy vessel is what is known as the Commissary Store. There are just three reasons, which seem to embrace all, that are given for the establishment of such a store on board ship. They are:

(1) To enable the men to purchase a better quality of the articles usually obtained from bumboatmen, and at a lower price. (2) To return directly to the men all profits from their purchases not needed for carrying on the business. (3) To bring under official control the sale of all merchandise on board ship, and thus do away with bumboatmen and pedlers, and reduce the chances of liquor or other unauthorized articles being brought aboard.

This is one of the best provisions in the navy for enlisted men. It is to them what a coöperative book store is to students at a university. It enables the men to procure the best article for the least money. It prevents the pedler and "bumboat" man from fleecing the unwary sailor. There is no gain whatever to the government, and, in the end, the profits accrue to the men in the form of added delicacies at a reasonable cost. Here Jack may go and lay out his money in milk, pies, and fresh fruit and receive his money's worth. While the ship is in port, the pay officer or commissary purchases in large quantities at wholesale prices from reliable merchants such articles as sailors like but which, on account of their perishable nature, can not be carried in the regular stock. Purchasing at wholesale prices, not

only is the cost of the article minimized to the sailor, but he gets the best quality. At sea, a full line of those articles that sailors like best is always to be found in the store, viz: All kinds of fancy biscuits and cakes, various kinds of candies, all kinds of jams, jellies, preserves, and fancy meats, such as fine French sardines, salmon, deviled chicken, turkey, ham, etc., with olives, fancy pickles, nuts, raisins, and dried figs, and all such delicacies as would not be found in any ordinary bill of fare on shore, and which could not be furnished to the mess otherwise than at a great expense to the men.

Sailors are very fond of sweet things, and to one who knows little about them, it is surprising to learn the quantity of candy they consume. In the ship's store are kept buckets of this article, which is one of the chief commodities in exchange for which a sailor parts with his pocket money. On large ships, several thousand pounds of candy are frequently consumed on a cruise.

When one contrasts the old way of feeding the sailors in the navy, with their seldom varied daily ration of "salt horse" and sea biscuit, with the diet of today, improvements in which are still being attempted by the Navy Department, the inevitable conclusion is that the navy ration has undergone as complete a change for the better as has the old navy itself. In fact, the navy furnishes its men a better daily bill of fare than can be found in any hotel within the reach of the purse of the average workingman ashore, as can be attested by any one familiar with the present messing system for the enlisted man of the navy.

## DEVELOPMENT OF ARBITRATION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS AND GOVERNMENTS

HAYNE DAVIS

There is a technical difference between a lawsuit and an arbitration—a lawsuit is the submission of a controversy to a court regularly constituted and, as a rule, having authority to require the disputants to submit their contentions to it. An arbitration signifies the submission of a question to a body that comes into existence and acquires its right to decide by the voluntary consent of the disputants.

Still the essence of a litigation and of an arbitration is the same—namely, the reference of a controversy to third parties.

It is easy to see that two motives incline men to take judgment into their own hands: first, passion, impulse; second, distrust in the truth of witnesses, and in the impartiality, purity, and wisdom of the arbitrators obtainable. When individuals in the beginning of government got their consent to refer some questions to arbitration, this distrust manifested itself in a way that seems strange at first blush, but natural on examination. The right was reserved to challenge the testimony of a witness, or the decision of a court, and if this was done the witness or the judge was bound to make his word good by personal encounter with the challenger. In the beginning of international government we have a counterpart of this in the Commission of Inquiry created by the treaty of the Hague for the trial of questions of fact between nations. After arranging for this Commission of Inquiry, the nations represented at the Hague Conference made a record of the fact that they would not be bound by its decision on any disputed question of fact, but would remain free to fight the matter out with the adverse claimant. The difference in this, and in the corresponding step toward arbitration in individual life, is that with individuals the battle was between the challenger and the challenged judge or witness, whereas the battle, after decision on a question between nations, is between the nations themselves.

Another of the early limitations of the use of battle between citizens, after governments had been established, was that in a controversy where one of the parties was an infant or a man over seventy years of age the trial had to be before a court, and could not be by battle. The Monroe Doctrine is the international counterpart of this. By that doctrine the United States made itself the judge in every controversy between any of the infant governments in the western hemisphere and nations in other parts of the world, coupled with the announcement that if any attempt to oppress them or to control their destiny were made, the United States would stand between them and the aggressor. This means practically that wager of battle shall not be the mode of trying a controversy with an infant American nation.

In the time of Henry I of England the right of the citizens to try their controversies by personal encounter was taken away in civil cases involving less than \$30. The international counterpart of this is found in the unanimous agreement entered into at the city of Mexico in 1902, by the representatives of every American government, that hereafter they would not go to war over a pecuniary claim. This does not bind the American governments until ratified by their law-making bodies, but it indicates the American international sense on the question, just as the prohibition of battle between individuals in cases involving less than \$30 evidenced the national sense in England in the twelfth century. It is more than probable that this agreement will soon become binding on the American nations; and when the European nations come out of the Hague Court in the Venezuela preference question they will probably be ready to join American nations in an agreement to the effect that no nation shall proceed to forcible collection of a debt against another until the same has been adjudged as just and due by an international court.

In those questions for the settlement of which the people clung most tenaciously to the right to try by battle the courts of England early acquired the right to name the time and place of battle and the weapons to be used, and to be present

in person and give judgment for the victor according to the issue of the battle, just as they would now on the verdict of a jury. There is no perfect international counterpart of this, but the agreement of nations not to throw projectiles from balloons is, in a manner, the fixing of the place of battle. Since that agreement was made in 1899, nations are free to fight on or under the land, on or under the sea, but not in the air. The international agreement not to use projectiles which give out asphyxiating gases, or which cause unnecessary suffering in putting the enemy *hors de combat* corresponds to the fixing of the weapons by the courts of England.

In the early days of England's life, the courts adjudged that in cases where trial by battle was lawful, the battle must end by twilight; it being considered unreasonable to permit the contest to last longer than the light of one day. If neither party overcame the other before the stars appeared, judgment was entered for the defendant, just as if he had vanquished the complainant. The Spanish-American war is the international counterpart of the case in England which gave rise to this decision. In the Spanish-Cuban controversy the American people decided that, as Spain had not been able to subdue Cuba in a reasonable time, Cuba was and of right ought to be free and independent of Spain. Though no definite time is fixed as reasonable for one nation to vanquish an opponent in war, it is safe to say that a nation must pacify a revolted section in what seems to neighbor nations a reasonable time, or have their forces to reckon with.

These and other steps away from violent and toward peaceable settlement of personal controversies, brought the people of England to the time of Henry II, when a giant step forward was taken. Up to that time there was no way to prove title to land in England except by personal encounter between the adverse claimants or their champions, in the presence of the court, with weapons prescribed and at a time and place fixed by the court. During his reign it was provided that citizens of England might try title to land by jury if they preferred, but should remain free to try by battle. After this, cases involving title to land were triable either by jury

or by battle, either party to the suit having the right to demand trial by battle, and if this demand were made the court was bound to order the trial in that way. The establishment of the Hague Court is an exact international counterpart of this authorization of trial by jury in land disputes. The only difference is that since the creation of the Hague Court the nations have the right to wage battle in every controversy or to submit them to the court at will.

The greatest step, but one, in the advance toward judicial proceedings in England occurred prior to the authorization of trial by jury in land disputes, but it affected only the citizens of London. This was a clause in the charter of London whereby its citizens were exempted from the duty of waging battle in any case, and were granted the right to have a trial by court and jury in all suits. We have an exact international counterpart of this in the general treaty of arbitration entered into between Argentina and Paraguay, whereby these two nations are bound to arbitrate any question that may arise between them, except such as may involve the constitution of either. Last May when their armies were in motion on account of their boundary dispute, Argentina and Chile entered into a similar treaty of arbitration. Perú and Bolivia also have entered into a treaty to arbitrate all questions that may arise between them for ten years. Strangely enough, therefore, the first people who became exempt from the necessity of waging battle as a nation are not the residents of the populous centers of the earth, as was the case in individual abandonment of war, but of a remote corner of the world, too often looked upon as a sort of Nazareth from which nothing good in the way of government can come.

When all the American nations were assembled at the city of Mexico in 1901, Spain took advantage of the opportunity to propose a general treaty of arbitration. Several such treaties are now negotiating, the one between Spain and Uruguay having already been signed, but so far as can be learned the ratifications have not yet been exchanged. When they are exchanged, the honor of binding the old and new world together by this righteous bond will belong to

the Latin race, which we "Anglo-Saxons" are prone to look upon as incapable of self-government.

The great and final step toward individual arbitration was taken by the people of England on June 22, 1819, when parliament passed an act declaring that "trial by battle is a mode of proof unfit to be used in any suit, and it is expedient that the same be wholly abolished," thus destroying the right of an English citizen to prove his contention in any controversy by personal violence. In 1460 St. Louis of France issued an edict which did for the territory under the jurisdiction of the crown what this act of 1819 did for England, and in every nation at different times the same steps have been taken in the substitution of lawsuits for private war.

Due consideration of the foregoing facts alone will make it plain that nations are walking in the path of individuals in their advance toward final and complete substitution of judicial proceedings for violence in the trial of controversies. But these are only a few of the facts that show that the national movement from war toward peace is perpetual, as the individual movement was, and that it will prove as irresistible. Of course there can be no international counterpart of the final individual step toward arbitration accomplished in England in the first quarter of the nineteenth century until an international parliament comes into existence having authority, and making use of it, to prohibit the trial of any question between nations by waging war, and to require the trial of every such controversy by court or jury.

We may seem a long way from such an event and yet be quite near it, as clearly appears from the fact that, while the foregoing steps were being taken within all the nations of the world, those which were in close touch united so as to form one political organism, thus enlarging the territory in which these peaceable methods prevailed. During the past century these unions of contiguous governments took place in all parts of the world, and in nearly every instance the resulting political organism was similar to that of the United States, *i.e.*, a generally authority for affairs common to all, and local authority for local affairs; the people of the several

smaller jurisdictions retaining complete control of their local affairs and being guaranteed a perpetual voice in the general government proportionate to their interests in the things falling within its jurisdiction. This is nothing but the organization of contiguous communities on the home-rule basis.

Supposing that the United States is typical of these reformed political organisms, it is notable that interstate and international commerce were the only interests considered as common to all the states. When the constitution is carefully examined it appears that only two powers were ceded to the general government to which all the other powers exercised by it are incidental. These two powers are control of commerce and intercourse between the states, and the control of commerce between the states and foreign nations. The latter is an imperfect power, because the congress of the United States has no more right to decide in these matters than has the law-making bodies of the other nations concerned. Each can contradict the other, and when they do so on a matter of vital interest or in which much feeling exists, war is the outcome, and when war results, the people of the nations concerned are deprived of their proper voice in these their largest interests, and thrown back upon whatever power they may have for the preservation of their interests. This befalls men for the simple reason that they attempt to express their voice in international affairs through a body having an imperfect power in such matters. If a congress were created, above the congresses at Washington, London, Berlin, Paris, and other capitals, in which all nations were represented, and each nation should cede to it the imperfect power it now has in international affairs, and receive in lieu a proper voice in this congress having perfect power in such matters, then all the interests of humanity would be under the control of several authorities each having perfect power in its own sphere, and in each authority every man would have a voice proportionate to his interests in the affairs coming within its jurisdiction.

This parliament of nations would have a perfect power in international affairs, and each nation would have its proper

voice in it, and no nation would surrender anything except its imperfect power, and in exchange for this it would receive a perfect voice in the wider authority. If this were done the parliaments of England, France, Germany, the United States, etc., would retain all the perfect powers they now have. Each state in the American union would have every power it now has, and would be forever freed from what is now its greatest menace. This is what the several American states did when they went into the union, with this difference, that their action in forming the union left them exposed to danger from the fact that the power to control their foreign affairs was put in a body having only an imperfect power.

Doing with nations what we did with states does not seem a revolutionary step in the light of the fact that countries have been doing the same thing all over the world on account of the proximity and community of interest between them created by nineteenth century conditions. In fact while men of affairs were solving the nineteenth century political problem in all parts of the world by forming unions of independent states, scientific men discovered and put in operation certain laws that have made these unions nearer neighbors at the end of the process than the smaller political organisms were at its beginning. Obviously the same political process must begin again with the larger political structures as the elements.

A professor in one of the universities has worked it out that 2,000 years will be required to get humanity organized so that war will be unnecessary. It was only 700 years from the authorization of trial by jury in land disputes in England till private war was entirely abolished in England, and the parliament that did this came into existence one hundred years after trial by jury was authorized. Already the nations have authorized trial by jury in all controversies. Remembering that when wager of battle was abolished the county seats in England were farther from London in time than the capitals of the nations now are, it is hard to escape from the conclusion that an international parliament will come into existence, as England's parliament did, but much more speedily, and that

this parliament will do in, say, 100 years under twentieth century conditions, what it took the English parliament 600 years to do under ancient conditions.

But whether this re-formation according to the nineteenth century revelation in political affairs takes 100 or 200 years for its realization, it seems almost proved that the whole world will be included in this union when it is formed. A union of Europe set over against America, or of the English-speaking peoples as against non-English-speaking peoples, would be a deformity. Mr. Stead has put forward the idea that the British possessions will become states in the American union. The Baron D'Estournelles suggests that European nations ought to form a United States of Europe at once. Unions so formed would be deformed. The constitution of the Hague Court indicates the error of these ideas. Every nation in the world is represented in that court, except the South American nations; they are not in it because they were not invited to the conference that created it; but the representatives of every one of these nations at the city of Mexico in 1901 voted for a resolution to adhere to the treaty of the Hague, and soon they will be parties to the treaty and members of the court.

This court foreshadows the ultimate political organism that will include all men. When a legislature to correspond to it comes into existence, and the authority of this international court and legislature is properly fixed, there will be a trinity of political organisms—the state, the United States, the united nations—and this will completely and perfectly organize mankind on that basis of human government which can endure: home rule with a voice for every man in everything that concerns him proportionate to his interest in each thing. And it does not seem over sanguine to hope that, not long after the creation of this international parliament, nations will enact a law for the nations corresponding to the act of parliament, whereby it was declared that "trial by battle is a mode of proof unfit to be used in any suit, and it is expedient that the same be wholly abolished."

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

MR. BRYAN is playing the somewhat effective rôle of objecting to, rather than selecting, presidential candidates for 1904. Since it is agreed that he still has power to injure and perhaps defeat any "objectionable" candidate, it is evident that he will have to be "convinced" in some way. The Democratic managers might get a cue from the Ohio campaign. Tom Johnson knows how it is done. He "convinced" Bryan that his "principles" required the nomination of Clarke (an out-and-out anti-Bryan Democrat) for senator. Perhaps the Democratic national committee can get him to give them the tip. There is evidently a way, and Johnson has the secret. All things are possible to those who know how.

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THE CHICAGO *Inter-Ocean* thinks that Mr. David M. Parry, President of the National Manufacturers' Association, should be "muzzled". It insists that his rabid and often vindictive talks reflect discredit upon the Manufacturers' Association, and says:

Such men as George F. Baer and David M. Parry, with their wild denunciation of everything and everybody that they personally dislike, do more to threaten the peace of the nation and bring on socialism than all the labor agitators that ever raved.

This is a little strong, but there is much truth in it. When Mr. Parry first began to discuss the labor question, he was rational and liberal toward the union movement, but he seems to have soured, and the more he talks the less rational he seems to become.

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THE DIFFERENCE of opinion between the friends of the Aldrich Bill in the Senate and those of the Fowler Bill in the House is likely to show itself in the coming extra session of congress, and may prevent any real useful financial legislation being passed. This will be a great misfortune. Something of a helpful kind ought to be done by the special session. Nothing

of a radical character is to be expected, but whatever is done should be in the line of sound banking principle.

The last Aldrich Bill simply provided for placing the income from the customs duties on deposits in the banks, instead of locking them up in the sub-treasury. Security for these funds were to be accepted in other than United States bonds. This, of course, avoids the contraction of the currency, resulting from the locking up of the public funds in the treasury; but it introduces no sound element into our banking system, it adds nothing to the elasticity of our currency. It will be an error if this opportunity is lost to add some element of sound improvement to our banking system; however little is done, that little should be in the right direction.

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THERE ARE some very nice people in this country who have labored under the distressing impression that Mr. Cleveland's critics have been wickedly intent on magnifying his interest in fishing and minimizing his interest in the national welfare. At a recent dinner at Buzzards Bay, however, Mr. Cleveland himself clarified the whole subject by stating in his own succinct way his real status on the subject. Here it is, as printed in the *New York Times*:

I should like to say right here that I am more interested in the protection of the fishing at Buzzards Bay than about our hoary-headed infant industries. I care more for these fishing interests than I do about the policy of the next federal administration.

After this statement of the case by himself, who will question the supreme wisdom, nay, the necessity, of electing him to the presidency for a third term? What proof of profound patriotic statesmanship could be greater than the frank confession that he cares more for the protection of fishing in Buzzards Bay than he does for the welfare of the industries of the country, or for the policy of the next national administration? Could the evidence of high-minded disinterestedness and "consecrated" fitness be more conclusive?

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THE DECISION of the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, as umpire in the case of Thomas Tanner, a miner, will do much good.

It is the beginning of submitting disputes to arbitration. Besides, Mr. Wright's decision was an eminently proper one; it was a very judicious interpretation of the decision of the arbitration commission.

The most important point of the decision is that relating to the right of the employer to discharge the miner. Mr. Wright decides that the employer must have the right to discharge, and he need not give the reason. Sooner or later, this must be the recognized principle of business. It is useless for unions to pretend that they can control the right of employment and discharge. These two functions must necessarily belong to the employers, or the responsible management of business is at an end. The unions may demand changes in conditions of work, hours of labor, wages, or anything that really affects the general condition of employment; but when it comes to deciding upon the employment or discharge of laborers, that is clearly no part of the union's function, and must go to the employer just as much as the purchase of material and machinery.

The umpire's decision in this case will have an excellent effect, and the more so because it carries with it decisions in favor of the men, and the umpire is pre-eminently the friend of trade unions, rationally conducted.

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THE FRIENDS of progress and humane public policy must regret the action of the Georgia legislature in refusing, by a vote of 89 to 75, to adopt the child-labor law. The purpose of the bill was to prohibit the employment in factories of children under twelve years of age, which is the recognized policy in all the states in the country outside the South, and even in all European countries. But the most surprising feature of the case was the speech of Major J. F. Hanson. Major Hanson is a Republican and a conspicuous advocate of protection to manufacturers in the interest of labor.

He is conspicuously known as a humane, public-spirited man, but, like Cobden and Bright in England, he appears to be humane and public-spirited in all that affects other people. He is properly enough a protectionist to his own interests and

those of his class ; but when the simplest modicum of protection is asked for the little children in his factories, he is for ultra *laissez faire*.

Nor was Major Hanson's opposition merely perfunctory. He prepared a special address, which was delivered to the members of the assembly in the capitol. How can Major Hanson and other Republicans and protectionists expect to be taken seriously when they plead for protection in the name of labor, while thus using all their power and eloquence to thwart the tiniest bit of humane protective legislation in the interest of factory children?

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DISTRICT-ATTORNEY JEROME has thrown his long-expected bomb at Mayor Low, and everybody breathes freer. From the subdued rumors, it was generally thought that Mr. Jerome really had something damaging to say, but his letter shows that he has not. He has written more than a thousand words to say that he doesn't like Mr. Low. He seems to be laboring under the hallucination that whomsoever he doesn't like personally is sure to be unpopular with the people. Such egotism is pitiful.

Mr. Low may be deficient in personal magnetism ; he may lack the qualities of a party organizer, so conspicuous in successful politicians ; but he has made an excellent mayor. Even Mr. Jerome admits that the friends of good government can not object to the Low administration. On the whole, Mr. Jerome's letter is an excellent argument for the re-election of Mr. Low and his administration. What the people of New York want is a good mayor ; not a man personally agreeable to Mr. Jerome.

Perhaps Mr. Low would be more acceptable to some people if he were bald-headed, or had red hair, or stampeded through the streets in a flying automobile to catch a thief, chase a delinquent policeman, or raid a gambling house. One of that kind is all any administration needs ; and Mr. Jerome will be there for two years more.

Mr. Jerome's letter is a weak, puerile, personal plaint. It does not present a single valid objection to Mayor Low, of a

public or political nature, or one that reflects upon his integrity, efficiency, or fitness for mayor of New York. New York needs a continuance of the Low administration for at least another term, and any opposition to the re-election of Mayor Low, for such personal and puerile reasons as given by Mr. Jerome, would be treason to the cause of good city government.

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AT ITS RECENT annual meeting at Hot Springs, Va., the American Bar Association barely escaped being made the victim of a political trick intended to commit it to Bryanism. Notwithstanding that the Bar Association is pre-eminently a non-political body, Mr. Walter S. Logan, of New York, as chairman of the Committee on Commercial Law, reported a series of anti-trust resolutions of the most drastic nature. These resolutions proposed three measures, designed to injure or to kill the trusts. The first, to use the language of the resolution, was "to tax them to death" on the single-tax plan, that of confiscating their property in the name of taxation. The second was to compel them to improve their service, and also their prices; and the third, to have the state enter as a competitor by public ownership and conduct of production.

Nothing of a more socialistic and revolutionary nature has been proposed by Bryan, Johnson, or the Populists; yet these demagogical propositions were sprung upon the American Bar Association. Mr. Logan is a Bryan politician, and of course reported these resolutions for political propaganda purposes. When the American Bar Association can be used for such revolutionary and demoralizing purposes, why be surprised that the common people can be incited to class prejudice and led to support dangerous, disrupting policies? Nothing more scandalous has occurred in a long time than this bold attempt to trap the American Bar Association into endorsing revolutionary industrial movements. To be sure the resolutions were not carried, but the purpose of the scheme was defeated only by referring them to the committee, which never reported.

This affair is significant mainly in showing the dangerous extent to which this anti-corporation fever is going. If the

American Bar Association could be nearly carried off its feet for such a proposition, what may we expect of state legislatures and congress, which are composed so largely of politicians who pander to public sentiment merely for popularity, regardless of results to the country?

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THOSE WHO have regarded England as the country of free-shipping and no subsidies, would do well to read the report presented to Parliament of the agreement with the new shipping combine just consummated by Mr. Morgan. The agreement provided that the company's steamships between Liverpool, New York, Boston, the Mediterranean ports, and Havre, including the new steamships, which will have a speed of twenty-four to twenty-five knots, will be at the disposal of the admiralty for hire or purchase in the event of war. The vessels must be maintained under the British flag and managed without any undue increase in freight charges or undue preference against British subjects. The masters, officers, and engineers of all the vessels must always be British subjects, and the same condition applies to at least three-fourths of the crew. The company is not allowed to sell any vessel whose speed is seventeen knots and upward without the consent of the government, which will indicate the plans for the new vessels with a view to their conversion into armed cruisers. The company must maintain the gun mountings, etc., ready for use. For these concessions the government agrees to subsidize the new vessels at \$375,000 a year each. The loan of \$13,000,000, which will bear interest at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., is to be repaid in twenty annual instalments, will rank as the first charge on the whole Cunard fleet, and will be secured by the debentures. The agreement provides for a reduction in the subsidy for the new steamships in the case of their failure to attain a minimum speed of twenty-three and one-half knots. The company must issue to the government's nominees such voting power as will prevent the passing of any special resolution by the shareholders in violation of the contract.

It will be seen from this that the English Government takes good care that it shall have the service of the best ocean steam-

ers that are built, and to secure this is willing to pay liberal subsidies, in fact practically to guarantee the profits of the shipping business.

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NOW THAT the black blot of the Kisheneff massacre has gone on the page of history and the page has been turned, it is well for Americans to recall, even in their resentment, the fact that Russia is the one great power that has made friendship to the United States a distinctive feature of its foreign policy.

This friendship was avowed forty years ago, when the Russian fleet appeared in New York harbor, instructed to report under certain contingencies to President Lincoln for orders.—*Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

It would add much to the value of this statement if the *Inter-Ocean* would give its authority for this assertion that the commander of the Russian fleet that appeared in New York Harbor in 1863 had instructions, in "certain contingencies," to report to President Lincoln. This statement in various forms has been going the rounds for a long time, but it has never been verified and there is no good reason to believe that there is any truth in it. It is one of those anti-English stories that have been so often repeated that they are generally believed. There is no reason for believing that Russia ever did anything of the kind. There is nothing in Russian character or traditions to make her the special friend of American institutions. Besides being the natural enemy of democracy Russia is the most cunning, tricky, and treacherous, and altogether dishonorable nation in Europe. Her diplomacy is distrusted by all civilized nations. She is a supporter of spies, and of intrigues and strife wherever it serves her purpose. She has several times quibbled and practically denied her positive promise in regard to the evacuation of Manchuria and the establishment of the open door in Chinese ports. It is only by the fear of superior force that Russia can be made to live up to her definite promises. Russia showed her friendliness to this country when Secretary Gage decided that the clause of the tariff law, providing that the duty on sugar imported from countries that pay an export bounty should be increased by the amount of the bounty, should apply to Russia as to all other countries. She was pleased enough to have this apply to Germany, but

when it was applied to her she instantly threatened to retaliate by a prohibitory duty on American products.

Russia is the most vindictive of all nations called civilized. She would turn against the United States on the slightest pretext, if she saw any advantage in so doing. Before the American people should be asked to believe this wholly improbable story about Russia risking the friendship of Europe to befriend the United States, some better evidence of its truth should be furnished than the complimentary sentiments of a Russian diplomat in an after-dinner speech.

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THOSE WHO pooh-pooh the idea that English statesmen are seriously considering Mr. Chamberlain's proposition to return to a moderate protective policy, have counted without the facts. Instead of being asked to leave the cabinet, as many predicted, Mr. Chamberlain has evidently converted the entire English cabinet, with the exception of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to this idea, and retires of his own volition, because he feels he can best fight in an independent position.

Mr. Balfour, the prime minister, has gone so far as to publish a very able argument on the subject. He calls attention to the fact that "the Cobdenite statesmen failed to foresee that the world would reject free trade, and fail to take full account of the commercial probabilities of the British Empire. . . . The point to be considered is not the momentary position of trade, but its tendency. British trade absolutely may have increased, but its rate of increase on the whole has seriously diminished. In some important departments no increase is perceptible; in others there are symptoms of decay. If the tide of international commerce is not flowing in proportion to the growth of wealth of the people, is it because of the operation of some inevitable law? . . . The only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other, and instead of appealing to economic theories, in which they wholly disbelieve, to use fiscal inducements, which they thoroughly understand. We alone, among all nations, are unable to employ this means of persuasion, not because in our hands it need be ineffectual, but because in obedience to a principle we have

deliberately thrown it away. The principle to which we pay this strangely incongruous tribute is, of course, the principle of free trade."

Whatever may be the tendency of public sentiment in England, it is clear that Mr. Balfour and the cabinet have lost their faith in the virtue of free trade, and are ready to give England an experiment with a moderate protective policy. Of course all this is rather hard for our American free trade doctrinaires who, for a quarter of a century, have been constantly pointing to England as furnishing the example which the United States should follow, and would degenerate if it did not. Like Bryan's predictions on the silver question, they rest on sentiment and not on facts. The surprise is not that free trade is proving a failure in England, but rather that it has seemed successful so long. After all the doctrinaire abuse of American statesmanship, instead of America following the example of England, England is compelled by the necessity of economic law to follow the policy of the United States.

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THE NEW YORK labor unions, on the whole, are showing a creditable attitude toward the mutual organization and arbitration plan, by which the walking delegate is eliminated. At first, the unions were slow to accept the plan. Of course the influence of the walking delegate was opposed to it, but the unions are gradually, one by one, coming into the new arrangement. Parks and the board of delegates have made violent opposition, at first expelling the unions that entered the new arrangement; but the trial and conviction of Parks as a black-mailer, and the sentence to two and a half years in state's prison, has had a wholesome effect in the right direction. To be sure his union stuck to him, but as proof that the unions are mainly honest and honorably disposed, they are gradually deserting Parks and his special friends, as they should. The evidence of this was clearly shown in the falling off in the number that walked in the procession on Labor Day behind the convict Parks. The last and perhaps most creditable act in this direction is the expulsion of Parks and his union from the national organization. This is highly creditable to organized labor.

It is a prevalent error to assume that members of labor unions are malignant, dishonest, or at all disreputable as a class. On the contrary, as a body they are above the average standard of citizenship. Of course, like every other form of organization in the community, they occasionally get in the hands of poor leaders, but even Parks is not worse than many of our political leaders. There are some men who are conspicuous in party politics who ought to be where Parks is. A man who will corrupt the electorate, and through bribery or intimidation change the majorities, and therefore the nominations of candidates for congress, or a man who lives by wringing blood-money from corporations to prevent bogus legislation, is entitled to wear the stripes just as much as a walking delegate who blackmails the contractor. But at the core the working men and organized labor in this country are honest, and in the main represent the most sterling qualities of industrial thrift and creditable citizenship, and no better proof of this is necessary than their acceptance of the plan of mutual organization, and their desertion and ultimate expulsion of such characters as Sam Parks. It is quite natural that they should move slowly; that they should be even suspicious of any new departure, especially if it involves a change in their organization. They should not be expected to give up their unions, and they may be expected to look for suspicion on anything that comes from the other side; but if the organized employers will treat unions in good faith, and not try to undermine them, nor accept dictation from them, but treat them fairly on equal grounds with employers' organizations, permanent progress toward a rational relation between the two forces may be confidently expected.

## QUESTION BOX

### Is Not "Johnsonism" Bryanism?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Although Mr. Bryan has been forced by circumstances to endorse the nomination of Mr. Clarke for United States senator from Ohio, in spite of the latter's opposition to free silver and some other Bryan heresies, does not the dictatorial tone of Mr. Bryan's statement and explanation reveal the true situation among Democrats in that state? Mr. Bryan is behind and under and over Johnson and Clarke, and still assumes the rôle of dictator in Ohio, as well as elsewhere. Does not this emphasize the peril of the situation in Ohio—the peril of Bryanism, with which all good citizens must reckon? S. C.

It is very clear that the Ohio campaign is a piece of the general Bryan movement. Mr. Johnson stands for all that Mr. Bryan stood for, and any additional heresies that had any following in Cleveland and other Ohio cities. The hands are "the hands of Esau," but the voice is the voice of Jacob. The success of Johnson in any phase of the campaign will be success of the Bryan power. If it were the election of Johnson for governor, that would mean a Bryanized state government for Ohio. If Johnson carries the legislature, that will mean a Bryan United States senator. Mr. Bryan has endorsed the Johnson campaign clearly on the conditions that he endorses candidates for the presidency, or any other office, namely, that they are his men. Yes, it is quite clear that the fight in Ohio is the fight of Bryanism over again in the name of Johnson.

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### The Casting Out of "Sam" Parks

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The failure of the effort to make the Labor Day parade in New York an endorsement of "Sam" Parks, then under conviction, and the subsequent action of his own federation which expelled his union, seem to me to be very favorable signs of a movement toward cleanliness of method in labor organizations. Should they not be considered as a definite advance in this direction; and are they not good

omens of better relations between labor and capital, since good relations can be maintained only upon a clean and honorable basis?

L. A. N.

Yes, all indications point to the fact that Sam Parks and the blackmailing delegate system with him must pass. The increase in the number of unions that have accepted the agreement for mutual organization and arbitration shows that the Parks type of labor leaders can not last; moreover, it shows, what is always true, that at heart organized labor is honest. Unions do not want blackmailing; they do not want dishonest representation, nor unreasonable strikes. Many such things occur, but they are due to just such men as Parks.

The additional fact that the international union has expelled Park's union from the national body is further evidence of the integrity and genuineness of the labor unions on this matter. The Sam Parkses in labor unions are like the ward "heelers" in politics; they injure the cause they represent. The only thing that prevents the Republican party in New York city from exercising the influence it should is the existence of the Quiggs and Platts. They are the Sam Parkses of the Republican party, and until they are eliminated, that party will be a suspect and unable to command the confidence even of the Republican voters.

It is a mistake to assume that disreputable representatives exist only in labor unions. They crop up from time to time in all organizations, political, social, and religious, and the fact that the labor unions are sloughing off the Sam Parkses as fast as they are discovered, is encouraging and highly creditable to the real purpose and character of labor organization.

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### Should the Negroes be Deported ?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have noticed that you have given careful attention to the negro problem. I would like to ask what you think of the proposition of Mr. John Temple Graves, presented in his recent Chicago address.

ATLANTA SUBSCRIBER.

The address of John Temple Graves was an eloquent plea. His presentation was strong, but his proposition seems wholly unpractical. His scheme is to deport the negroes from the South to some other country, or to localize them in some other part of this country. If the negroes were deported to some new section of the country, and an entirely negro state was established, there is little reason for hoping, and less for believing, that they would prove at all fit for self-government. That would be practically establishing a Hawaii, or Porto Rico, or Philippine community right in the United States, which is not to be thought of.

The Atlanta *Constitution* is more liberal in discussing Mr. Graves's proposition. It pays him a high tribute for his eloquent deliverances and masterful presentation, but regretfully objects to his deportation proposition. But on this, as on other phases of the negro problem, the *Constitution* thinks it is the part of good policy to "let well enough alone." Unfortunately, the situation is not "well enough", and can not be let alone. The very spirit of progress forbids that. In the advancement of society, the human mind will not let a disturbing abnormality alone. Just as slavery could not continue always in the midst of a highly-evolved civilization, so this problem, with its harrowing concomitants, can not, and will not, be let alone. It must come within the movement and forces of civilization, and the more rationally the problem is discussed, the less radical and abnormal will be the treatment of it.

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### Will England Go Over to Protection?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Mr. Chamberlain seems to have won over the British cabinet to at least a part of his protection program. In the meanwhile, at several by-elections, the voters do not seem inclined to give support to the new idea. Which of these occurrences shows better the real trend of English sentiment? Will the cabinet prevail, and are the people waiting only for leadership and light? J. D.

Perhaps neither of these shows the real trend of English sentiment. English sentiment is undoubtedly free trade. The

proposition of Mr. Chamberlain, and the position of the cabinet which has really come over to his view, is not the popular sentiment. That represents the inevitable tendency,—a tendency that must make popular sentiment, unless England's position is to be more rapidly undermined than it already has been. Mr. Balfour, in his pamphlet just issued, recognizes that the sentiment in England is free trade, but he points out that the facts are the other way; that while England's foreign trade is not actually declining, its increase is falling off, and, relatively to the wealth and population of the country, it is declining. Mr. Balfour calls attention to this economic tendency, which pays no regard to sentiment, but follows the line of profitable business. Whatever it is, they must win out, or cause havoc. Englishmen are not made of the stuff to stand by and see their opportunity and prosperity slip away from them on a mere sentiment. The bye-elections indicate the present sentiment not yet informed on the question, as there has been no real public discussion of the subject, but the position of the cabinet indicates the economic trend and the business interests, which, in the long run, must prevail.

## BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF ARABIC LITERATURE. By Clément Huart.  
D. Appleton & Co., New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

In his introduction to this book, Mr. Edmund Gosse, the editor of the series of "Literatures of the World," says that Professor Huart is one of the very few men living who could write with authority upon this subject. Professor Huart is well known to Oriental scholars, and his work will be accepted at once as of the highest possible authority. Within its limits, this book of 450 pages is almost a perfect specimen of what this sort of writing can be made in the hands of a thorough scholar and one whose scholarship has been clarified by the traditions of French art.

Although dealing with one of the most difficult subjects of modern scholarship, the author has succeeded in producing a book that is not too technical or scholarly for the general reader. It is a complete survey of Arabic literature from its origins, through the splendid period of the Abbasids, and the still brilliant period of literary endeavor that survived even the crumbling of the great empire of Muhammad and his followers and the fall of Bagdad, and the consequent shrinking of Arabic prestige and literary inspiration to a few great centers like Cairo, Constantinople, and Damascus ; and even of the periodical literature of the present day, which is surprisingly varied, voluminous, and marked by conspicuous ability.

What is most interesting in the book is perhaps the part devoted to the origins of Arabic poetry, because the period in which this wild and yet magnificent poetry developed is the one least known in the history of the Arabic race. There is a little confusion, however, as to the origin at rhymed verse, on pages 4 and 8. In his first account, Professor Huart ascribes the origin of the Arabic poetry to the song composed by the leading camel driver, called the *hida*, the rhythm of which was suggested by the heavy beat of the camels' feet on the sand of the desert. In the second account, a few pages farther on, the author seems to question his own statement and ascribes the

origin of Arabic poetry to the rhythmic prose called *saj*, which was "replaced by the metre called *rajaz*". It is unfortunate that this point was not made a little clearer. The wonderful vitality of the earliest Arabic poetic forms is dwelt upon throughout the book and it is shown that the rhythmic prose, which represents the Arab's first attempts at verse, and which was used by the Prophet Muhammad in his composition of the Qur'an, and in the famous lectures of Hariri, and which is repeated today in the editorial articles of Arabic papers scattered throughout Islam, from Constantinople to the Niger. While this vigor shows the wonderful power this rhythmic style possessed for the Arab, who has never got very far from the camel ride and the desert, it has acted as a restraining influence upon literary form and literary endeavor. The result is that modern Arabic literature shows no promise of a revival of its former splendor, and even reveals signs of early oblivion.

In one particular—if the admirable method and results of Professor Huart's work may be challenged—the author seems not to have been in complete touch with his subject. This is with reference to the influence exerted by Persia upon Arabic literature and civilization. The Persian was a far more cultured man than the Arab, and his language had long since been polished into a finer and keener literary weapon than the Arabic; and the rude, semi-barbaric hordes of Arabs that poured forth from the deserts to the conquest and spoliation of the world were enormously influenced by their contact with Persian literature and art. In fact the splendor of Saracenic literature and Saracenic art may be ascribed to this Persian influence, and the recognition of it should have been duly made in a work on Arabic literature. The words "Persia" or "Persian" are not even found in the index of this book, and while the Persian influence is occasionally referred to, due recognition of it is not made.

In the editorial preface Mr. Gosse says that "the system of iteration used for the Arabic language in French" has been changed for the one employed by English scholars. With due respect to this explanation, a number of French forms have

been retained in the book; as, for instance, "Soudan", instead of Sudan; "Beyrout", instead of Beirut; and "Bedouin", instead of Beduin. There is no reason why the English forms of these words could not have been used, instead of the French forms, of which the English has already borrowed too many.

Another defect of the work is in the deliberate mis-spelling of words and names that are the very center of Muhammadan thought. For instance, there seems no just reason, in this late day, when a better knowledge of Islam prevails throughout the world, why the name of the Prophet should be spelled "Mahomet" or "Mohammed". The form "Mahomet" has the sanction of Gibbon and Shelley, and numberless others who knew nothing of the Arabic language; but it is thoroughly well known that the correct form is *Muhammad*, and is so written now by the best scholars. The name appears properly spelled throughout the book wherever it relates to any Arab except the Prophet himself, who was best qualified to bear it. The same may be said of the absurd spelling of the bible of Islam as "Koran" in stead of the true Arabic spelling *Qur'an*; and of "Hegira" instead of "*Hijra*"; and of Mecca instead of *Mekka*. Of course, if it detracted in any way from the usefulness of the book to use the correct forms, this defect could be excused; but accuracy would add to the value and, it must be said, to the authority of the work if it preserved the integrity of scholarship at all points.

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ACTUAL GOVERNMENT, AS APPLIED UNDER AMERICAN CONDITIONS. By Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

This is a volume of the American Citizen series, and one of the most valuable in the list. Professor Hart is a distinguished historian, and several of his works, notably "The Formation of the Union," "The Foundations of American Foreign Policy," etc., are well known authorities in their field. The scope of "Actual Government" is very broad, but the book itself fully meets the requirements of

the subject. Every branch of national, state, and municipal government is treated with sufficient thoroughness, and an additional value is lent by the treatment of subjects not generally dealt with in works of this class, such as the questions of transportation, commerce, pensions, education, public order, police force, city ownership, foreign intercourse, reforms, state debts, etc. Recent events in American history have added a new field for the historian and for the writer on governmental subjects, and Professor Hart has availed himself of the opportunity of preparing a great deal of information upon American dependencies, colonial problems, and protectorates.

Indeed, the book is as complete and thorough-going as could be expected of the distinguished author, and the responsible house that issues it. The author follows a system of his own which, while it is not consecutive from an historical point of view, is yet more valuable because it deals with each topic fully when it is taken up, instead of having the information scattered from beginning to end of the book. For purposes of reference and practical use, this book will be found far more valuable than anything that has yet been prepared upon the practical workings of our government. It is scholarly within its scope, but is by no means technical or obscure.

Especial attention is paid to the development of parties and of machine politics. In fact, this subject has never before been so fully dealt with in a general work of this kind, and never more clearly dealt with in a work devoted entirely to that particular subject. Nothing but praise, indeed, can be written of this book, except perhaps the criticism that it is rather bulky, and that compression by means of thinner paper would have made it a handier and, consequently, a more useful volume.

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A HISTORY OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THEORIES. By Charles Edward Merriam, Ph.D. \$1.25. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

Dr. Merriam is thoroughly qualified for writing a work of this sort. It seems, however, that he has given us a collection of essays upon certain periods and certain leaders in our

political history rather than a connected and co-ordinated treatment of the subject as a whole. There is not enough connection between the different parts, and we do not get a complete idea of the development of American politics.

The subjects treated are the political theory in the Colonial and the Revolutionary periods, the Reactionary Movement, the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy, the Slavery Controversy, the theory of the nature of the Union—involving a treatment of the compromise idea, state-sovereignty, nullification, secession, and the nationalist theory—and concludes with a view of some recent tendencies.

The best portions of the work are perhaps those that deal with Jefferson and Jackson, and with the contribution of John Adams to American political thought. These chapters would alone give abundant value to the book. There is lacking, however, an adequate treatment of Calhoun, of Hamilton, and of Marshall. Dr. Merriam seems to have adopted the plan of including the consideration of only such theories as have been applied with success in our government. For this reason, very many of the most interesting political theories and movements have been neglected. There was, perhaps, not space enough in the plan the author had mapped out to allow for an adequate treatment of lost causes, and he had to utilize what space he had for dealing with those that have triumphed. This plan, of course, makes the book all the more practical, but it somewhat lessens its value to the general reader.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Merriam will elaborate the scheme which seems to be presented in this excellent work merely in skeleton, and that he will take occasion to do more justice to theories that, while they have been set aside as impractical, had a tremendous formative influence upon our political institutions and thought.

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THE CALL OF THE WILD. By Jack London. The Macmillan Co., New York. \$1.50.

This book is a powerful and probably accurate picture of a certain kind of life in the Arctic regions, especially in the Klondike. Despite the fact that its style is loose and often

false, the effect is perhaps the most characteristic and most enduring picture of Arctic life that has been written in the form of fiction. For this alone the book deserves a high place in the literature of the day.

But this is all that can be said in its favor. It is a story of brutality, unredeemed either by truths taught of this wild life, or by any moral result at the close. With the exception of the very remarkable picture of the rough and—as Mr. London describes it—criminal life in the northwestern frontiers, the effect of the book can not be but injurious to every impressionable mind that may read it. It is not in its favor that what it tells of cruelty and theft is true. Whatever merit lies in the force of the picture and the mere accuracy of the details is more than overbalanced by the repulsive descriptions of brutality and by the conclusion that the author draws that brutality and crime are necessary and became almost virtues in that savage region.

What can be more harmful than such teaching as occurs on page 59, where Mr. London describes Buck's first theft? The author says: "It marked his adaptability, his capacity to adjust himself to changing conditions, the lack of which would have meant swift and terrible death. It marked, further, the decay or going to pieces of his moral nature, a vain thing and a handicap in the ruthless struggle for existence. It was all well enough in the Southland, under the law of love and fellowship, to respect private property and personal feelings; but in the Northland, under the law of club and fang, whoso took such things into account was a fool, and in so far as he observed them, he would fail to prosper."

We must disagree entirely both with the supposed fact and with the principle of this passage. No hope can be entertained for any region or for men where existence demands theft, robbery, and worse crimes. It is expected that in a rough country roughness will prevail, and that force will ordinarily take the place of what Mr. London calls "the law of love and fellowship in the Southland," wherever this blessed region may be. We doubt if even in the roughest camps in Alaska that sneak-thievery is considered a particular virtue.

The whole purpose of the book is false to art and to nature. It is to show that a noble dog, long accustomed to the most humane treatment, shall, upon moving to the terrible and wild conditions of the Arctic circle, revert from his civilization (if it may be so called), and sink into a wild state. This is contrary to reason and experience. Mr. London makes it even worse by having Buck revert to savagery even after he has passed through the brutal service of the couriers, and is owned by a humane master, John Thornton. It is true that the actual reversion takes place after the death of Thornton, but it begins while he is with Thornton. It is unquestionable that the experience of men and dogs is against Mr. London, and that Buck would never have begun his atavistic drift to savagery until the wild conditions actually pressed upon him and forced him back into the ranks of the wolves.

The book is as disagreeable reading as can be found, and is about as false in its art and teaching as anything in the regions of dime-novelism. It presents a terrible contrast to such a book as "Bob, Son of Battle", where noble dog life is made, as it should be made, clean, kindly, and with a consistent movement away from "the call of the wild."

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THE SILVER POPPY. A Novel. By Arthur Stringer. D. Appleton & Co., New York. \$1.50.

This is a novel with a "purpose" somewhat different from, or "different to" (to use the author's idiom), the usual purpose of the novel of the day. It is generally supposed to be a covert attack upon a certain woman who treated Mr. Stringer somewhat as his heroine treats Hartley. This, of course, does not lessen the merit of the book itself, no matter what one may think of the propriety of this method of revenge.

Mr. Stringer shows remarkable power and facility in this his first novel. The plot is rather tenuous, and is not especially interesting, and the main character, Cordelia Vaughan, the literary vampire, seems to get away from his grasp toward the end; but, despite these defects, the author has succeeded in writing an intensely interesting story of a kind of literary life that does not exist.

In the climax, where Reppelier is supposed to meet and overcome the vampire in a contest of wits, Reppelier rather gets worsted, and the dragon plays havoc with St. George. This and other defects in the drawing of the character of Cordelia seems to indicate that the plot outgrew the original limits that it first assumed in Mr. Stringer's mind.

It was a mistake to place at the heads of chapters what purports to be poetry, and also a string of senseless "epigrams" from the original "Silver Poppy". These selections are absurdly out of place, and take away from the appearance, and from the effect of the book. They were not needed, and they merely serve to spoil a remarkably clever and ingenious piece of work. The young author is to be congratulated upon his first venture into the field of fiction, and his work shows promise of far better things.

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A PRINCE OF SINNERS. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Cloth; 386 pages. \$1.50. Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1903.

In this novel Mr. Oppenheim has given us possibly the best example of his work up to this time. The book has a peculiar interest just now, because of its palpable reference to Mr. Chamberlain and his already famous zollverein and preferential tariff agitation. Outside of its political feature, however, the novel is one of interest throughout, and indicates great power and a thorough knowledge of the field. The novel has the usual love interest. The hero, Kingston Brooks, a political agent, is well drawn, and the character, although a difficult one, is remarkably well developed and sustained.

The book repays reading, both as a love story and as a remarkable presentation of the political situation in England. One of the characters, Henslow, makes the following prediction:

"I say that the next readjustment of parties, and the time is not far ahead, will be on the tariff question, and I believe that the controversy on this matter, when once the country has laid hold of it, will be the greatest political event of this century." This has been taken to refer directly to Mr. Chamberlain's recent pronouncement in favor of a limited protective policy.

## CURRENT COMMENT

**Chamberlain's Victory and Retirement** The following extracts show the extent of Mr. Chamberlain's victory in his fight for protection in England. He now retires from office,

after winning over the Balfour cabinet, in order to carry on his struggle for preferential tariffs from the vantage ground of an independent leader.

They [Cobden and other free-traders] failed to foresee that the world would reject free trade, and failed to take full account of the commercial probabilities of the British Empire.

If they had been right on the first point, if free trade had indeed become the universal creed, no controversy about our commercial relations with any fiscally independent community could possibly have arisen.

If, on the other hand, they had succeeded in giving us imperial free trade, the protective tariff tendencies of foreign nations would in the long run have been but of secondary importance. These double errors have established insular free trade, with its inevitable limitations, and left us bearing all the burden, but enjoying only half the advantages which should attach to the empire.

It seems to me to be clear that we are bound to seek some mitigation, and that in one direction only can we hope to find it. The source of all the difficulty being the protective tariffs imposed by fiscally independent communities, it is plain that we can secure no concession in the direction of freer exchange except by negotiation, and that our negotiations can but appeal to self interest, or, in the case of our colonies, to self interest and sentiment combined.

Now, on the free trade theory, self interest should have prevented these tariffs originally from being imposed, but it did not, and if the argument failed before powerful vested interests were created it is hardly likely to be effective now.

The only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other, and instead of appealing to economic theories, in which they wholly disbelieve, to use fiscal inducements, which they thoroughly understand.

We alone, among all the nations, are unable to employ this means of persuasion, not because in our hands it need be ineffectual, but because in obedience to a principle we have

deliberately thrown it away. The principle to which we pay this strangely incongruous tribute is, of course, the principle of free trade. But what a curious view of free trade! It implies that the object which these fiscal inducements are intended to attain is increased free trade—nothing else.

And yet, simply because the fiscal inducement may, if it fails of its effect, but not otherwise, involves duties not required for revenue purposes, or in certain cases even carry with it some element of protection to home industries, we are to turn away from it as from an accursed thing. This seems to me an extraordinary piece of foolishness.

If I were proved to be wrong, my opinion on the fundamental question, says the Premier, would remain unchanged. Where we fail others may succeed. It cannot be right for a country with free trade ideals to enter into competition with protectionist rivals, after having deprived itself of the only instrument by which its policy can conceivably be modified.

The first and most essential object of our national efforts should be to get rid of the bonds in which we gratuitously entangled ourselves. The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is important, yet after all it is only a secondary issue to what is fundamental—that our liberty should be regained.—*From Premier Balfour's recent Pamphlet on "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade."*

**New Plan  
of  
Arbitration** Arbitration plan adopted at a conference held July 3rd, 1903, between the Board of Governors of the Building Trades Employers' Association and the representatives of the labor unions, with explanatory clauses as adopted by the above joint conference on July 9th, 1903:

1. In general the employers and employees of each trade are organized. This applies particularly to the mechanics of the trade and those helpers' organizations from which the mechanics of that trade are largely derived.

2. Where an agreement exists between employers and employees all disputes in relation thereto shall be settled by a Board of Arbitration with an umpire, if necessary. The decision of said board of umpire shall be final. Should either side to the dispute fail to select an umpire, or fail to abide by the decision of the umpire, the dispute in question shall be referred to the General Board of Arbitration within 24 hours after such failure or refusal. The question of sympathetic strikes or lockouts, and all questions as to the jurisdiction of trades must be referred to the General Board of Arbitration,

it being agreed and understood that such kinds of work as have been heretofore recognized as being in the possession of a trade are not subjects for arbitration.

3. Each association represented in the Building Trades Employers' Association of the City of New York shall elect two arbitrators who shall serve for not less than six months.

4. Each union, the employers of which are represented in the Building Trades Employers' Association, shall elect two arbitrators, who shall serve for not less than six months, and who shall be actively engaged in their trades for an employer in Greater New York at the time of their election.

5. The arbitrators from the unions shall not be business agents.

6. From this body of general arbitrators not less than four, two from the Employers' Association and two from the Employees' Unions, shall constitute a Special Arbitration Board. They shall meet within 24 hours when notified so to do by the general secretary.

7. Those arbitrators from the unions who may be in the employment of members of this association are guaranteed re-employment by their firm or corporation when the special case on which they have served has been disposed of.

8. The unions, as a whole or as a single union, shall not order any strike against a member of the Building Trades Employers' Association collectively or individually, nor shall any number of union men leave the works of a member of the Building Trades Employers' Association, nor shall any member of the Building Trades Employers' Association lock out his employees before the matter in dispute has been brought before the General Arbitration Board and settled.

9. Complaints shall be first addressed to the general Secretary of the Arbitration Board, who shall be a paid employee, and by him referred to the executive committee of the General Arbitration Board composed of an equal number of employers and employees, and it shall be their duty at once to organize a Special Arbitration Board to decide the point at issue.

10. It shall be the privilege of any union or member of the Employers' Association to select from all the General Arbitrators the individuals they desire to act for them, but no General Arbitrator can act when the dispute is occurring in the trade which he represents.

11. The General Arbitrators must be given power by the interest they are acting for.

12. Arbitration papers are to be drawn up stating specifically the matter in dispute, and that both sides agree to abide by the vote of the majority of the board or the decision of an

umpire. The umpire must be selected before the case is opened.

13. These papers must be properly signed and sealed by the members of the board, each side receiving its copy. Then after a careful hearing of the case stenographically reported, the verdict obtained by a majority vote or decision of the umpire, shall be final and binding.

14. After a few trials, precedents will be established, which can be used to strengthen the position of either side in subsequent trials, and can be quoted as in our Courts of Law.

15. The members of this association agree to employ members of the trade unions only, directly or indirectly, when parties to this agreement. It is understood, however, that in any case where a trade union is unable to provide sufficient workmen, the employer or employers in that trade may hire workmen, not members, who shall become members of the union, if competent. That after the date of the signing of this agreement, no union shall become a party to this agreement without the consent of the executive committee.

16. Resolved, that the wages now paid in the unskilled trades shall not be reduced nor the hours increased for one year from the date of the general acceptance of this agreement. In any difficulty arising in the unskilled trades, they may, through the mechanics of that particular trade, have representation in the General Arbitration Board.

Explanatory clauses adopted July 9th, 1903:

Be it resolved, That Article 15 shall be interpreted as follows:

That the matter of supplying sufficient workmen shall be left to the Arbitration Board of the individual trade to be governed by its trade conditions, but that in case of continued failure on the part of the unions to supply sufficient workmen, any member of the Building Trades Employers' Association may refer the matter to the General Arbitration Board for settlement.

Be it resolved, That it is understood and agreed to by this conference that the first clause of Article 16 applies to skilled as well as unskilled trades.

It is understood and agreed that all existing trade agreements remain in full force, except in so far as they may conflict with the above arbitration plan.

This, it is to be remembered, is a joint plan. If more unions did not have a hand in its making, the fault, as already said, was entirely their own. It may be doubted that had these unions, that are apparently disgruntled on this score, been represented, that the plan should have been made any better.

We have no hesitancy in declaring it as our belief that, by a wide margin, this is the fairest and best constructed plan of general arbitration in existence. If it favors either side at all, the trade unions are the favored.—*Bricklayer and Mason.*

**President Roosevelt on Labor** It is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire state. If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry, and forethought enables the farmer, the tiller of soil, on the one hand, and the wage-worker on the other, to keep themselves, their wives and their children in reasonable comfort, then the state is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper. On the other hand, if there is in the long run a lack of prosperity among the two classes named, then all other prosperity is sure to be more seeming than real. It has been our profound good fortune as a nation that hitherto, disregarding the exceptional periods of depression and the normal and inevitable fluctuations, there has been on the whole from the beginning of our government to the present day a progressive betterment alike in the condition of the tiller of the soil and in the condition of the man who, by his manual skill and labor, supports himself and his family, and endeavors to bring up his children so that they may be at least as well off as, and if possible better off, than he himself has been. There are, of course, exceptions, but as a whole the standard of living among farmers of our country has risen from generation to generation, and the wealth represented on the farms has steadily increased, while the wages of labor have likewise risen, both as regards the actual money paid and as regards the purchasing power which that money represents.

Side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil has gone on a great increase in the prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men; and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of the farmer and wage-worker. It can not be too often repeated that in this country, in the long run, we all of us tend to go up or go down together. If the average of well-being is high, it means that the average wage-worker, the average farmer and the average business man are all alike well off. If the average shrinks, there is not one of these classes which will not feel the shrinkage. Of course there are always some men who are not affected by good times, just

as there are some men who are not affected by bad times. But, speaking broadly, it is true that if prosperity comes all of us tend to share more or less therein, and that if adversity comes each of us, to a greater or less extent, feels the tension. Unfortunately in this world the innocent frequently find themselves obliged to pay some of the penalty for the misdeeds of the guilty; and so if hard times come, whether they be due to our own fault or to our misfortune, whether they be due to some burst of speculative frenzy that has caused a portion of the business world to lose its head—a loss which no legislation can possibly supply—or whether they be due to any lack of wisdom in a portion of the world of labor—in each case, the trouble once started is felt more or less in every walk of life.

We can keep our government on a sane and healthy basis, we can make it what it should be, only on condition of judging each man, not as a member of a class, but on his worth as a man. It is an infamous thing in our American life, and fundamentally treacherous to our institutions, to apply to any man any test save that of his personal worth, or to draw between two sets of men any distinction save the distinction of conduct, the distinction that marks off those who do well and wisely from those who do ill and foolishly. There are good citizens and bad citizens in every class as in every locality, and the attitude of decent people toward great public and social questions should be determined, not by the accidental questions of employment or locality, but by those deep-set principles which represent the innermost souls of men.—*From Mr. Roosevelt's Labor Day Speech.*

**The Industrial Outlook** It is not a time for pessimism regarding the industrial outlook of the nation possessing the greatest natural resources and most powerful commercial intellects in the world. For several years the progress of the United States has been so rapid and unchecked as to dazzle the world and arouse many predictions of disaster, especially among envious rivals in the international contest for supremacy. At the present time there is only one menace to the industrial progress of the United States—the labor problem. Not only are the relations between labor and capital calling for most careful arrangement, but still more difficult of solution is that side issue, the dissensions among trades unions. During recent months there has seemed to be something almost epidemic in the strike situation. Numberless controversies arose all over the country, no single struggle involving the large number of men affected by previous big strikes

nor threatening the convenience of the public to the degree that occurred during the coal strike last year or extensive railway troubles in other years. Yet the exceptionally numerous disputes, however small in the number of men employed, have produced a feeling of uneasiness that weakens the tone of securities and makes capital timid about embarking upon new industrial ventures. Fortunately the conservative element in the community predominates. Organized labor must be accepted as something that exists. Neither the legal nor moral right of labor to unite can be questioned. That it has greatly improved the condition of the workingman is undeniable. Dispassionately reviewing the prominent factors bearing upon the industrial and financial future of the nation, there is good cause for optimism. Reactions will occur, especially when precipitated by either inflated prices or overproduction, while political uncertainties may arise, but the tendency is toward a better condition of affairs. Professors of political economy may quote history in support of theories regarding the periodicity of financial and industrial crises, but to a student of actual conditions in the United States there is little value in precedent. It is not a nation that follows in the beaten path, nor does its people bow to the inevitable. Rather it may be said that the strenuous battles of the past have developed a spirit of welcome to adverse factors, and obstacles are met by a hearty antagonism that bodes well for the future. Free institutions and steadily increasing educational facilities are building up a citizenship that must prevail. It is the personal equation that determines the power and progress of a nation, and, in their own picturesque vernacular, the rank and file of the people are "all to the good."—H. C. Watson, in the *Commercial Advertiser*.

**Current Price Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Sept. 20, 1902	Aug. 20, 1903	Sept. 23, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.) . . .	\$ 3.85	\$ 4.85	\$ 4.65
Wheat, No. 2 (red) bushel . . . . .	75½	86⅔	83
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . . .	71½	58	53½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel) . . . . .	31½	39	41½
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.) . . . . .	18.00	14.75	14.75
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.) . . . . .	22.00	22.50	22.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.) . . . . .	5½	5½	5½
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.) . . .	417/16	5	419/16
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.) . . . . .	22½	19	21½

	Sept. 20, 1902	Aug. 20, 1903	Sept. 23, 1903
Cheese, State f. c., small fancy (lb.)	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cotton, middling upland (lb.)	9	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Print Cloths (yard)	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.)		5 $\frac{5}{100}$	5 $\frac{5}{100}$
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)	7 $\frac{3}{10}$	8 $\frac{5}{100}$	8 $\frac{5}{100}$
Hides, native steers (lb.)		11	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Leather, hemlock (lb.)	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	24
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.)	23.00	17.50	17.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, ton 2000 lbs.)	22.00	16.50	15.50
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	26.40	28.10	26.75
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.)	11.75	13.75	13.75
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.)	4.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.25	4.50
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20)	4.35	4.15	4.15
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.)	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)	2.05	2.00	2.00
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)	8.07	5.40	5.80
Fine silver (per ounce)		55 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bullion value silver dollar		.4125	.4215
Ratio gold to silver	1:40 49	1:37 93	

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 Sept.	1899 Sept.	1900 Sept.	1901 Sept.	1902 Sept.	1903 Sept.
Wheat, No. 2 red, N.Y. (bush.)	.79 $\frac{1}{2}$	.77 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85	.77 $\frac{1}{2}$	.77	.88 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.31 $\frac{1}{2}$	.35	.43 $\frac{1}{2}$	.59 $\frac{1}{2}$	.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	.52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.35 $\frac{1}{2}$	.41 $\frac{1}{2}$	.50 $\frac{1}{2}$	.66 $\frac{1}{2}$	.72 $\frac{1}{2}$	.59 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.23 $\frac{1}{2}$	.23 $\frac{1}{2}$	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.36 $\frac{1}{2}$	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.36
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.49	.58	.53 $\frac{1}{2}$	.56	.50	.55
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.00	11.50	12.00	14.00	12.00	11.00
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	2.00	1.50	1.75	2.50	1.75	2.00
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.15	.13	.15	.16	.28	.26
Wool, xx, washed, N.Y. (lb.)	.30	.32	.30	.27	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.33
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.27	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.29	.25	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	.30
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.15	4.90	5.70	7.40	8.20	6.20
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y., (lb.)	.21	.23	.22	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.23	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Elgin	.20	.22	.21 $\frac{1}{2}$	.21	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.17 $\frac{1}{2}$	.21	.14	.22	.24	.26
" " " St. Louis (doz.)	.13	.15	.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	.16 $\frac{1}{2}$	.20	.19
Cheese, Sept. col'd. N. Y.	.08 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12	.10	.12	.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.10	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Jan. 1 1893.	Sep. 1 1898.	Sep. 1 1899.	Sep. 1 1900.	Sep. 1 1901.	Sep. 1 1902.	Sep. 1 1903.
Breadstuffs.....	\$15.750	11.791	12.431	13.917	17.369	17.579	17.477
Meats.....	9.315	7.893	8.200	9.014	9.530	10.402	8.921
Dairy, garden..	15.290	9.548	11.005	11.251	13.009	10.930	12.351
Other foods....	9.595	8.879	9.165	9.650	9.153	8.811	9.242
Clothing.....	13.900	14.533	15.502	15.843	15.234	15.773	17.137
Metals.....	15.985	11.697	17.413	14.870	16.091	16.655	16.543
Miscellaneous...	14.320	12.467	14.435	16.160	16.525	16.532	16.870
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$94.155</b>	<b>76.808</b>	<b>88.151</b>	<b>90.714</b>	<b>96.911</b>	<b>96.682</b>	<b>98.541</b>

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	Aug. 14, 1903.	Sept. 18, 1903.
Average, 60 railway.....	102.99	103.03	88.23	87.15
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	51.14	48.73
" 5 city traction, etc... .	137.37	130.45	112.70	109.25

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing Aug. 14 1903	Prices Sept. 18 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113	117 $\frac{1}{2}$	112 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	118	118 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	135	133
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	102	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
International Paper (pref.).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
N. Y. Central R. R. ....	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	147	125 $\frac{1}{2}$	119 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania R. R. ....	170	147	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	123 $\frac{1}{2}$
Reading R. R. (1st pf.).....	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
Southern Pacific Ry.....	81	56	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	42 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Rubber.....	—	—	10	—
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	18
" " (pref.) .....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	79	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	68 $\frac{1}{2}$
Western Union Tel.....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	82

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Sept. 5, 1902	Aug. 7, 1903	Sept. 11, 1903
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 17 6	2 1 10	2 11 4
Copper .....	57 10 0	57 5 0	57 18 0
Tin, Straits .....	124 0 0	130 10 0	123 5 0
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14x20) ..	— — —	0 11 5	0 12 0
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.) .....	— — —	0 16 6	0 16 6
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	11 5 0	11 6 3	11 11 3
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) .....	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	— — 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Petroleum (gallon) .....	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	— — 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.866; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)



Other nations have in the past accepted the principle of free trade; none have consistently adhered to it. Irrespective of race, of polity, and of material circumstances, every other fiscally independent community whose civilization is of the western type has deliberately embraced, in theory, if not in practice, the protectionist system. Young countries and old countries, rich countries and poor countries, large countries and small countries, free countries and absolutist countries, all have been moved by the same arguments to adopt the same economic ideal. In circumstances so little foreseen we are driven to ask whether a fiscal system suited to a free trade nation in a world of free traders, remains suited in every detail to a free trade nation in a world of protectionists.

. . . . I hold myself to be in harmony with the true spirit of free trade when I plead for freedom to negotiate that freedom of exchange may be increased. This freedom to negotiate, like all other freedoms, may of course be abused. But are we therefore in a mood of irrational modesty to declare ourselves unfitted to enjoy it? I think myself that it ought not to be difficult to devise a method of turning it to most useful account. But were I proved to be wrong, my opinion on the fundamental question would remain unchanged. Where we fail others may succeed. It can not be right for a country with free trade ideals to enter into competition with protectionist rivals, self-deprived of the only instrument by which their policy can conceivably be modified. The first and most essential object of our national efforts should be to get rid of the bonds in which we have gratuitously entangled ourselves. The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is an important, yet after all only a secondary issue. What is fundamental is that our liberty should be regained.—*Arthur James Balfour, Prime Minister of Great Britain, in "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade."*

## GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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### THE FALLACY OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

The progress of society toward representative and especially democratic institutions, has been a long struggle of centuries to win emancipation from paternalism. The paternal care of government for the masses is the traditional condition of most of the human race. It is only as people become strong individually, self sustaining, and industrially evolved that they have the strength of character to throw off paternalism, and use government only for the purpose of security and protection to the freedom of individual activity. As seven-tenths of the human race are still under the shadow of paternalism, it is not surprising that for all their ills, the masses show a tendency to seek a paternalistic remedy. Whether the grievance is of an industrial, social, or political character, they always turn to the government for the solution, just as chickens flock under the old hen at the first sight of a storm.

The form of paternalism varies with the state of development and civilization of the country. In Russia the appeal is to the fatherhood of the Tsar. In the United States, it usually takes some socialistic form. Whenever a grievance appears in any industry, if prices are a little too high, if profits are too large, or if some seem to be getting rich too fast, no matter what the objection, the proposed remedy is the substitution of the government for the individual in the ownership and conduct of business enterprise. The fact that this is a return to tradition and seemingly affords a quick remedy, gives it plausibility. Besides, to tell people their salvation largely depends on their personal character and conduct, is not likely to be as popular, as to tell them the blame is all with

somebody else, and that the remedy is to have the government do it for them. It is always easier to slip backward than to go forward. It is this general proneness to fall back upon the traditional that makes it comparatively easy to enlist the sympathy and applause of a large class for any proposition of governmental aid of which public ownership is the most sweeping and paternal of all. Consequently, among the laborers, and conspicuously among the poorer and less intelligent class of laborers, the advocacy of public ownership finds most ready acceptance. Hence when sensational politicians want to stir up the masses, they invariably begin to advocate some form of public ownership. The Populist movement was of that type. Under the influence of Bryan, there developed a class feeling, and a distrustful fear of railroads and banks. Everybody who was succeeding was robbing them. As a remedy for all the evils, imaginary and real, they clamored for the government ownership of railroads and banks.

The campaign in Ohio, under the leadership of Tom Johnson, is a repetition of that experience. In appealing to the masses for political support, the chief effort is directed toward creating distrust of all who are successful in industrial enterprise. To create fear in the minds of the masses, that they are robbed and oppressed on every hand, and that the only effective remedy for all their woes is to run to the cover of mother paternalism and have the government take possession of the industries and run the business. The owners of land are declared to be robbing the people, hence they must be dispossessed, and the land must be confiscated by taxation. This is really the basis of the appeal that Johnson is making to the voters of Ohio. It is on this that he is asking to be elected governor; and that a man who believes in these methods be elected United States senator.

What interest have the laborers in the public ownership of industry? Whether the government or a corporation owns the factory has only one concern to the laborer and the public, namely, which will give the best wages and produce the best goods at the lowest price? The public welfare depends upon the results. If shoe factories were owned by the

government, and run at a loss the way the post office is, we should have poor shoes and dear shoes. What interest would either the public or the laborers have in such a result? The question, therefore, regarding public ownership is, Which is most likely to give the best productive results, public ownership, or private ownership?

The success of industrial enterprise largely depends upon the efficiency of management, and the improvement of methods. Under which system, then, are we most likely to get these two important conditions of business success? The chief difference between the two methods, public and private ownership, is that under private ownership the administration is chosen by natural selection. Under public ownership, it is chosen by popular election. To get the best economic results, it is necessary to have the application of expert ability and mature experience. This becomes more important as industry progresses and highly developed machinery and complex methods are established. In very large concerns, a few mistakes may mean millions of loss, while clear foresight, prompt decision, and effective administration may and often do give success that means a gain of millions. It is not popularity, but expert experience that is required. The absence of these means failure.

In countries and communities where this experience has not been developed, modern machinery is not employed, nature is not made to yield much, crude methods of production prevail, little wealth per capita is produced, the people are poor, and civilization is relatively backward.

Under private ownership, selection is based on experience. The man who shows ability is promoted to responsible position and given large rewards, sometimes very large. His promotion does not depend on his personal popularity, on his ability to scold or to proclaim in the market place, but upon his ability to show economic results in the conduct of a business enterprise. This is the process of natural selection, the selection of the fit, of the competent, of the tried. It is by this process that the Carnegies and Rockefellers have secured the most expert mechanical and manag-

ing talent in the world, and as a result they lead the world in the use of wealth—cheapening methods and profit-creating business. They have given the world cheaper and better products and have made larger profits than anybody else, all because they have pursued the course of natural selection, of expert management and the scientific conduct of industry.

Improvement in machinery and methods, so essential to all progress, involves constant experimentation. Under private ownership, experiments can be undertaken whenever they meet the approval of the experts, no concensus of public opinion is necessary. It requires only the approval of a very small number, and this number takes the responsibility of the experiment and furnishes the expense of making it. Experimentation in large concerns often involves millions. The Standard Oil company and the Carnegie company have spent millions at a time to discover mechanical improvements, and sometimes without effect. When the improvement is a failure, they bear the loss. When it is a success, it is applied to industry, and the public get a part and ultimately all the benefit. In order to have the best results from this, it is necessary to have large capital and quick judgment. The secret of American superiority over England is due to the greater willingness of the American capitalist to invest whole fortunes in improvements. It is said the Carnegie company has spent more in two years on new improvements than all the iron men in England have spent in ten years.

How would all this work under public ownership? It is obvious that, under government ownership, when the administration would be subject to popular election, much of this would be practically impossible. In the first place, it would be practically impossible except in rare cases, and largely by accident, to secure expert business capacity. It is part of the theory of popular election, at least in this country, that there should be rotation in office. When a person has held an office for a few years, that fact is made the ground for his retirement, in order to give somebody else a chance—not because this gives greater efficiency, but because it gives a larger number a chance of holding public office. In fact, efficiency and fitness from

previous experience, instead of being the prime condition, is about the last consideration.

It is contrary to the very principle of representation that the best should be elected; the very idea of representation is that the elected shall represent. Now, to represent a large body like the community, the representative must necessarily be mediocre. It is popularity, not experience, that determines election by popular vote. It would be practically impossible, therefore, to secure the most competent, expert business experience by popular election. If our railroads and large business corporations were governed by popular vote today, it would probably be impossible to elect any of our great successful business managers to office. Carnegie, Rockefeller, and the great organizers of industry are among the most unpopular. If any of them were candidates for public office they would not stand the remotest chance of election. That is why we seldom see our ablest men elected to high public office. Witness our legislatures and congress and candidates for presidents, to say nothing of the boards of aldermen and mayors of our cities. For the most part, they are men who could never get to the head, or even get responsible positions, in large business concerns. This is not accident; it is in the nature of things. It must necessarily be so because they do not reach their positions by promotion based on experience or fitness, but by their capacity to tickle the popular fancy.

So, in the matter of experimentation and development of improved methods. Under public ownership, the investment of millions of dollars in experimentation would have to receive public approval. This would require vast amount of discussion and agitation to convince the public of the wisdom of such a course. Such expenditure would increase taxation, and that alone would probably defeat it. It would probably have taken half a life time to educate the people up to spending the money necessary to develop and lay the immense system of pipe lines of the Standard Oil company. The development of the Carnegie experiments might not have come until the next century if it had waited for approval by popular vote; but in the hands of private enterprise it would come in a few years,

because those who saw the wisdom of it had the power of decision, risked their own money to try the experiment. It is fair to say that under public ownership our great railroads, telegraph systems, our great iron and steel corporations, and oil productions, would scarcely have been heard of. Instead of being ahead of the world, we should undoubtedly have been leagues behind England. If the money paid for experimentation were drawn from taxes, there would be less certainty of the wisdom of its expenditure. People are not as careful of other people's money as they are of their own, and the knowledge of this fact makes the public doubtful when untried claims are advocated at public expense; but, when people risk their own money on their own judgment there is a large percentage of certainty in the outcome. For while they make great gains if they succeed, they pay the penalty if they fail. But under public ownership, they would make little or nothing by the gain and the public would pay the penalty if they failed. So that under public control, there is neither the incentive for the best effort, nor the security against recklessness that there is under private ownership.

No great mechanical development in any line was ever made under public ownership or popular administration. The best that public control ever does, and that quite reluctantly, is to use improvements that individual enterprise has developed. All of the great discoveries and improvements in and out of public administration are the result of private initiative. Take our postoffice, for instance, which is always pointed to by the advocates of public ownership as the great model of what government can do. As a matter of fact, the postoffice is usually run at a loss. In eight years out of ten it runs in debt. There has been practically no improvement for a quarter of a century. It is true that the mail is carried much more cheaply than formerly, but whatever economy there is in that is due to the great railroad and transportation corporations which carry the mail more cheaply, and not by anything that government has done. In fact, the postoffice is a demonstration of the most mediocre capacity and management. Any large business corporation subject to competition

would go bankrupt in a year with such incompetence as characterize the management of our postoffice.

A most conspicuous illustration of this is the English telegraph system. Down to 1870 it was a private corporation. In that year, the English telegraph was bought by the government. It had always been a profitable enterprise. After it passed into the hands of the government, profits began to fall off. By 1872 they disappeared, and ever since the telegraph system has been run at a loss. Sometimes the deficit has equaled seven cents a message on the whole business; thus making many persons who send no messages help pay the deficit. In other words, the poor management is paid for by increased taxes.

The most extensive experiment of the kind was tried in Lancashire, England. In Bolton and some other towns in that vicinity, a large number of cotton factories were built on the socialistic plans; that is to say, the laborers were shareholders, and the management was determined by the popular vote, and, to insure that it should be thoroughly democratic, no shareholder was permitted to have more than one vote; he could not vote according to the number of his shares, but the theory was that the man with one share was as good as the man with a hundred, and his vote should count as much. This went along for a while swimmingly. The laborers elected their overseers and managers, but it soon developed that if a manager was at all efficient and insisted upon good work, prompt attention, etc., he gave offense. The man who could make the best speech and find the most fault could easily be elected to the highest office. The natural result was poor management, falling off of dividends, failure to compete with well-managed private concerns, and today there is not one of nearly 100 of these co-operative factories in existence. In order to save them from bankruptcy, they had to be converted into joint stock companies, just as our corporations are, where the management passed into the hands of capital, and experience and efficiency, rather than popularity, became the basis of selection to responsible office. In other words, private enterprise and

control had to be substituted for public ownership in order to prevent bankruptcy and failure.

What interest have the laborers in public ownership? Wherein would it be any advantage to them? If it furnishes poor management, as it does, and practically prevents progressive improvements, it would necessarily tend to restrict capacity for production. The only interest the laborers have in the matter is an improvement of their material condition. Whether business is under public or private control, the laborers would have to work for wages. It is only a question as to whether private corporation or the government shall pay the wages. That fact is of no importance to the laborer; the only thing that he is really concerned in is the size of his wages. There is nothing in public ownership that would tend to make his wages higher; but, in proportion as the management was inferior, it would tend to make them lower.

There is no advantage in working for the State as compared with working for a private concern unless the State will pay more, and it could not pay more if it did not produce more. Again, the laborers would have less freedom in demanding increase of wages under government ownership than under private ownership. Under public ownership, they would have to encounter the government, and there is always less sympathy in fighting the government than in fighting a private concern. The government owns all the courts. If the laborers were on a strike against the government as an employer, the courts would be even more likely to send leaders to jail if the strike were against the government than they are now under injunctions. A laborers' strike against a private concern has all the chance of receiving public sympathy so long as it is reasonably conducted, and creates no disturbance of the peace or destruction of property. Public sympathy is seldom with a corporation; but let the employer be the government and then it is the public, and instead of fighting a corporation which is under severe criticism of public opinion, the strikers are arrayed against the public itself. There never was a time when strikes against the government were very successful.

We can always get the best results when the interests are

kept separate—that is, the interests of the consumers and the interests of the producer. Whenever the producers and the consumers become one, the power of criticism, and what is more important, the power of competition, is well-nigh destroyed. The laborers want wages and the public wants products. The best way to have the productive efforts of the country under the highest stimulus to best results is to keep competition rife among the producers and criticism keen among the consumers. With production in private hands, we have all those forces at work. The capitalists compete with each other for public favor in the sale of their goods. Public opinion and the press are potent forces to make these yield the best results. The laborers have the benefit of all these forces in demanding better goods and reasonable prices, and the government and the courts, all the institutions of society, are at their command in compelling reasonable conduct among the producers, but when the government becomes the producer this practically disappears.

There is no aspect of the subject in which public ownership, especially in complex productive industry, is superior or likely to be as good as private ownership. It has no advantages for the laborer. It would deprive the consuming public of the benefit of competition. It would tend to give inferior and inefficient management, destroy the incentive for improvement in methods and produce, as it does in politics, corruption, waste, and demoralization.

There is abundant room for improvement in our industrial system, but the improvement must come, if it comes at all, through greater development of productive method, higher intelligence among laborers, better understanding between employer and employed, and a higher standard of public estimate of industrial ethics; but it can not come by displacing private enterprise, through which all the best forces in individual effort is stimulated, with public ownership which, in its very nature, discourages individual capacity and encourages political log-rolling, favoritism, incapacity, and all the vices of political bossism.

## ARE MILLIONAIRES A MENACE?

One of the most acute phases of social discontent—whether it be among the trade unions contending with employers for higher wages and better conditions, among those people who distrust the railroads, among the free-silverites who dread the money power, among the socialists who think all profits are robbery of labor, among the single-taxers who think the private ownership of land is the bane of modern life, among all these and a multitude of sentimentalists, whose views are less concrete,—is the feeling that in some way or other, the millionaire is a menace to society. The discontented are not rash enough to unite in any regular movement for the suppression of millionaires, or even for the restriction of millionaire enterprises, but there is to a wide extent a fear of the millionaire. One can hardly talk to a man with a reputation for conservatism without finding it crop out at some place that there is danger in the millionaire. Of course, this feeling is largely the result of the extensive and well-nigh perpetual propaganda which is carried on, largely for political purposes, against the wealthy ; yet it could not altogether rest on that.

It has been said that there is some truth even in error. It may safely be said that no protracted movement of society was ever all wrong. Millionaires have done many things in their struggle for wealth and power which no righteous concensus of the community could approve. It is with millionaires as it is with everybody else. They are apt to be judged by their worst examples. If one rich man is mean, if he is oppressive to labor, if he uses undue influence over some weaker competitor, if he uses improper means to promote his interests, we are prone to take him as the type and condemn the class for the work or conduct of its worst example. This is true in other fields. Take organized labor. There are a few labor leaders like Parks of New York, Martin Irons, and Debs who can not be defended ; but the great bulk of labor representatives are honorable, conscientious men ; yet there is a strong disposition among certain classes to judge labor leaders by these few

poor specimens. This is a mistake in judgment, and whenever we make a mistake in estimating the character of any element in the community, we find that element continues and goes on regardless of our mistaken estimation, because it is not as bad as we think. No element in the community, no class, no institution, will survive the changes of society, if it has not strong helpful elements in itself.

It is a striking fact that there has always been more or less of this suspicion of rich men. In the early days of the republic, the same pessimistic ideas prevailed. It is this spirit that has led to the resistance of working men to all improved machinery. At first, these machines were thought to be the work of the devil. After the devil was eliminated, they were charged up to the avarice of the millionaire, leaving out of consideration any personal peculiarities, mean or otherwise, of individual rich men.

Inquire for a moment what would be the effect of eliminating millionaires from society. If we look at countries or communities where there are no millionaires we see a lack of all the modern conveniences and appliances of civilization, no matter where or when it existed. A country without millionaires will have few, if any, railroads, no modern sanitation, none of the devices and assistants of modern science. Poverty, ignorance, superstition, and despotism are invariably the lot of the common people in any country where millionaires have not appeared or do not remain. Why? Because millionaires are so much better than other people? No, they are wonderfully like other people; but persons can become millionaires only by doing something. Nobody can do very much for himself without doing something for others. No man ever acquired a million in legitimate business without benefiting the community, perhaps to the extent of many millions. Millions nowadays can come only with an active, exceptional capacity for successful business. Successful business does not mean, as it did in the Middle Ages, the power to rob your neighbor. It means the power to serve the public better than your neighbor can serve it. Necessarily this comes through the development and use of superior ma-

chinery or better methods for producing wealth and doing business.

Now, every improved machine, every new device, mechanical or in the organization of business, is an addition to the world's wealth. It does not take wealth from one person and give it to another; but it takes it from nature and gives it to man. The machine that will now enable one weaver to make 1,200 yards of cloth per day instead of twenty yards, as formerly, is making natural forces produce wealth; and every time nature is harnessed to production, the work is done cheaper, because nature works for nothing. The modern millionaire gets his millions by making nature do more and more of the world's work; but every time he makes nature do more, the public gets a part of it, through the lowering of prices and the general cheapening of goods. They get a part of it in the increase of wages that goes to labor. They get a part of it by increased taxation for public improvement. During the past twenty-five years, all the staple products of society have gone through this process of having the cost of production reduced; the result first going in profits to the capitalist, and then to the community in lower prices and higher wages, and increasing public improvements, until the margin has all disappeared, and new improvements have been applied to make nature furnish a new surplus. This is, in fact, the function of the millionaire; it is the function of capital, and especially of large capital.

But we hear some say at this juncture: "It is not the millionaire, but the multi-millionaire that is a menace." Indeed, there is a very large class of intelligent, well-meaning people who believe that it would be a benefit to society if business men would retire from business when they had accumulated a million; many think half a million would be the safer point of retirement. It is urged in behalf of this view, and with some truth, that if business men would retire when they had acquired a competence of half a million or a million, which will yield an ample income for anybody, the effect would be good upon personal development. For instance, if Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie, Jay Gould, and others had retired when their fortunes had reached that amount, they would have thrown off

the cares of business, become interested in culture, social improvement, and the influences generally that help social life and civilization ; that they would become in short gentlemen of leisure and culture, instead of greedy money makers ; that the influence of such people in the community could not be other than beneficial ; that such retired rich men, having ceased to desire more wealth, would make excellent material for public officials ; that then we could have the experience and capacity of the best men in public office from president down to school commissioners and boards of aldermen. There is truth in all this. It is quite safe to say that if, during the past fifty years, every business man in the United States had retired from business after he had acquired a half million, and had thereafter devoted himself to educational lines of personal and public cultivation and efficient administration of public affairs, we should have a much higher kind of politics, that our debauched city administrations, for instance, would be unknown.

On the other hand, we should have had a great slackening down in the material development of the nation. We should undoubtedly have had purer politics, but we should have had poorer people. Instead of being a nation of 80,000,000, ahead of all the world in material welfare and general advancement, we probably should have been a tenth-rate nation, quite in the rear in regard to all industrial development and economic and social welfare. If the Rockefellers and Carnegies had retired on half a million or even a million, the great undertakings in this country would have been impossible. Very few of our great railroads would have come into existence. The great pipe line system of the Standard Oil Company would have been an impossibility. The Carnegie steel works would have been unknown. The great improvements and undertakings that have done so much to put this nation in the front rank have all been accomplished by the force, experience, and wealth of the millionaires, after they acquired the first million. To retire them at that point would be to retire them just when they begin to be useful. Carnegie's best work has been done since his first million was acquired. Rockefeller had done little of importance in the line of industrial organization up to the time he acquired

his first half million. The Vanderbilts, the old Commodore and his sons, were of no particular importance as organizers until after they became millionaires. After they became millionaires, they had just the quality for the successful undertaking of great enterprises that involve experience, risk, and enormous investments.

No community ever made much progress with half-million capitalists. The required investments are too great, the risks are too colossal for small capitalists to undertake. People with limited experience, which small fortunes imply, have not the foresight, capacity or industrial mettle, to take the risk of losses involved in such immense undertakings. Our great railroads, most of which have pierced large unsettled areas, have been built by men of great wealth. In the hands of small men, timidity and incapacity to risk would have compelled waiting until population and business would make a railroad pay; but in the hands of these millionaires, with the confidence of small capitalists behind them, the great railroads were built as a final force to the country's development and business growth. In other words, the development of the country followed the railroads, instead of preceding them, as in slower-going countries. This is true in every line of great development. The building of the sub-way in New York city for local traffic, and the tunneling of the Hudson river by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company would have been practically impossible without the existence of millionaires. If everybody had retired from business on acquiring half a million, there would have been none of the energizing, go-ahead spirit in enough people to furnish the money and stand the risk of such colossal undertakings.

It may be said, therefore, that, if the multi-millionaires have deprived the community of the public service and social influence that it might otherwise have received from a greater influx of the dignified, gentlemanly influence of retired business men, they have been, on the other hand, the greatest progressive forces in the country. Without them, it would be deprived of experience, energy and judgment of the industrial experts of the world.

In fact, it may truly be said that every man who remains

in business after he has acquired a million is sacrificing his personal ease and culture for the public good. He is making his best contribution to the nation's progress at the sacrifice of his own personal development. This may not be a personal hardship; he may prefer it; but the fact remains that instead of millionaires being a menace to progress and to public welfare, it is after they become millionaires that they make their greatest contributions to progress. Their importance to the community and to civilization in leading the forces of industrial and national development is worth a thousand times more than their personal influence would have been to the culture of society.

The rapid progress which this country has made results, of course, in some crudeness. We make mistakes in many directions. We waste more than others, but we have more to waste. These immense movements bring with them immense experience and diversifications and high complex activities, and these can safely be trusted to evolve the conditions, opportunities, and forces for social refinement and general cultivation. Poverty, sterility, may be passing good, but it never reaches high culture or a generally superior civilization. The highest civilization must come out of the greatest and most varied experience. Small capitalists may promote a conservative growth and even a more economic condition of society, but the result would be a slow and plodding progress, and would mean social sterility, and traditional prejudice, which are the greatest menace to progress that can exist in any community.

There may be bad millionaires, as there are bad ministers, but as an element of progressive civilization, millionaires are not a menace, but a most helpful force, in advancing civilization.

## JOHNSON'S APPEAL TO THE FARMERS.

Ohio is a wonderful state for political surprises, but nothing has occurred, even in Buckeye politics, in the memory of man, that is quite so surprising, not to say audacious, as Tom Johnson's appeal to the farmers for political support.

When Henry George went to England and Ireland proclaiming single tax as a panacea for economic and social ills, there was a seeming plausibility in his propaganda. He appealed to the peasant, to the poor, and to the landless to accept his gospel of confiscation. Although his plea was destitute of sound economics and good ethics, it, at least had the plausible seeming of promising something to those who accepted the doctrine. People who are interested in any reform expect to gain something by the change. To dispossess the Irish and English landowners and give everybody an equal right to what others now possess, had at least the attraction that booty has to the burglar. When preaching that rent is robbery to the proletariats of Europe or the tenement population of New York city, it seems to promise something to the followers in the crusade; so when socialists preach that interest and profit are spoliation of the laborers, the doctrine has the appearance of a gospel that would help the poor.

Heretofore, whenever the theory of dispossession and taking something for nothing has been preached, the appeal has been to those who had nothing, but never before was an appeal made to those who were to be plundered to support the policy of the plunderer. It remained for Tom Johnson to present this surprising gospel to the farmers of Ohio. One of the most pronounced features of Johnson's campaign is what he calls tax reform and, in support of this, he is making a special appeal to farmers and home-owners. Of course, he denounces corporations of every kind and character. Railroads, the so-called trusts, and all large industrial enterprises come in for fierce attack. Everything, in fact, of a successful business nature that has not fallen in line with his political crusade,

even street car companies, in the manipulation of which he made the bulk of his millions, are deemed especially iniquitous. Through the legal ingenuity of his attorney, General Monet, he would doubtless make short work of these corporations by legislating them out of existence, but to the farmers, he is posing as their veritable Moses. He is telling them how they are oppressed by over taxation, while the corporations are escaping with a nominal tax.

In the midst of all this, it may be interesting to inquire just what Mr. Johnson's tax reform is, and what it really will do for the farmers and home-owners in Ohio. Shorn of the bluster, the subterfuge, and bluff incident to an heroic political campaign, Johnson's theory of tax reform is really very simple. Although he does a tremendous amount of posing and indulges in unlimited free-handed, indefinite talk, Tom Johnson has very definite and concrete ideas on taxation, and, except during a heated campaign, he is very frank about expressing them. It must be known to the farmers of Ohio, that Mr. Johnson is the most conspicuous disciple of Henry George in the United States. He was for years, the financial sponsor of Mr. George. To his credit, it may be said that he furnished the means for Mr. George to live on while writing his last book. Nothing could be a surer evidence of sincerity than this.

He is such an inveterate believer in the single tax and so willing to follow it to its logical issue that he is opposed to every other form of taxation. It is this theory that makes him an absolute free trader; because he believes that single tax is the only righteous method of collecting revenue, he would abolish custom houses altogether, regardless of the effect of such a policy upon the industries of the country. Nay, he would go further than that—he would abolish all internal taxes. It is an essential element of Mr. Johnson's doctrine that no manufacturing and no mercantile industry, that no business enterprise of any kind whatever, should be taxed.

Then where would Mr. Johnson levy his taxes? There is just one place and one place only. Upon the land. He would make the land pay all the taxes—city, state, and national. The farmers and home-owners—in fact, the people who own the

land whether in large or small quantities, whether for farming, homes, or business, would be the only tax payers. If Mr. Johnson were appealing to the corporations and business men, to the non-land-owning people generally for support, this might, temporarily at least, seem a catching card, but to ask the farmers and home-owners of Ohio to support that method of tax reform is bold to the point of impudence.

However unequal taxation may now be, however much overtaxed the farmers are at present, and however much under taxed are the corporations and railroads, Mr. Johnson's proposition would make it more so. Instead of the farmers of Ohio being on a 60 per cent. valuation, as Mr. Johnson now claims, while the corporations escape with much less, they would, under Johnson's policy, pay it all. If there is any relief in this, perhaps the farmers will appreciate it.

Under his theory of taxation, the corporations would be relieved of taxation altogether. Merchants would not have to pay any import duties; manufacturers, railroads, and trusts would escape all internal and local taxation. It would all be put on the farmers and home-owners. Nor would Mr. Johnson be at all disturbed by the fact that such a tax would be oppressive to the farmers. It is a part of his doctrine, indeed, it is the essence of his gospel, that the tax on land should not only be large enough to pay the expenses of government, but that it should be large enough to take all the value of the land and to wipe out every vestige of property ownership the farmer may have in it. This is the prime purpose of Johnson's theory of tax reform. The very object of the single tax is to confiscate the entire value of the land.

Of course, Mr. Johnson is not telling the farmers this just now, but at all other times when he is not seeking their votes, he tells them this plainly. Mr. George at whose feet Mr. Johnson sits, made an elaborate justification of the doctrine of ruthless confiscation. It matters not that the land has been honestly acquired, paid for in cash by the hard earnings of the owner, the doctrine is that God gave the land to everybody, and the government is everybody, and the government should take it away from all who have acquired it regardless

of the manner in which it has come into their possession; and the ruthless onslaught by which the confiscation is to be promoted is by taxing the land to its full value.

This theory was regarded as harmless when presented as matter of academic discussion by Henry George and the single tax advocates in the young men's debating societies, but in the hands of Tom Johnson, it becomes a practical policy of robbing the farmers and home-owners of their hard earned possessions.

Of course, under democratic institutions, the people are omnipotent. They can do whatever they will to do. They can prohibit corporations from doing business. They can make railroads dissolve as in the Merger case; they can drive large corporations out of the state or out of the country. They can, if they so elect, rob the farmers of their land; but the question is, will the farmers vote to have it done. If the farmers want to pay all the taxes and relieve the corporations or other business concerns from bearing a share of the public burden, if they want to have their homes, their farms, taxed away from them, and be transferred from land-owning farmers to laborers or tenants of the state, they have the right and the power so to do. All that is necessary to accomplish this attractive program is to elect Tom Johnson, and put his single tax doctrine into practise.

If the farmers of Ohio are ready to be martyrs to the cause, and to be sacrificed on the altar of "Johnsonism" for the benefit of the rest of the country and for the world, they are generous indeed, and for such self-sacrifice they would be entitled to a monument; but, if they really do not want to pay all the taxes, and do not want to relieve railroads and trusts of all the burden of taxes, if they do not want to have their property taken by confiscatory taxes, then they had better make short work of Johnson's system of tax reform. If they vote for Johnson for governor and Johnson's candidates for the legislature, they can have the Johnson method of farm confiscation. They can, also, if they wish, destroy this evil at its source. If they vote with any approximate unanimity against Johnson and his candidates, "Johnsonism" in Ohio would be buried beyond the hope of immediate resurrection.

## THE COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF ENGLAND

THE RIGHT HON. LEONARD COURTNEY, P. C.

It is a truism that we owe our predominant position industrially and commercially to our power of underselling the world. This fact has a sinister look which repels many superficial observers when they first confront it. We are supposed to confess ourselves to be ugly and virulent competitors who by conducting a sort of national "sweating system" on a grand scale have driven other nations out of their employments into some condition of relative want. This is an imperfect and even a false view. We have possessed the means of satisfying many of the primary wants of humanity with less effort than was formerly necessary for their satisfaction, but this has been possible only because communities and nations have been free to assort their industry, so as to leave to us the satisfaction of those wants in respect of which we are relatively more efficient.

Easily accessible and abundant power has made us predominant in the transforming industries which convert raw materials into the finished products fitted for the use of men. Broad, virgin lands of great fertility and year by year made more accessible to the agents of commerce have given other nations a power of supplying food products and the raw products of industry, such as cotton and wool, with an efficiency far exceeding our own. In natural fulfilment of the great law of apportioning work according to the relative efficiency of the worker we have undertaken the making of things while others have fed us and supplied us with the materials for making, and they and we have alike enjoyed a reduction of the labor necessary to support existence. The statistician, if appealed to, can give us abundant facts to show us that the average standard of living and the average length of life have been slowly rising.

How is it that we have possessed the means of gaining the position we have occupied? The main factor in producing this

result has been the abundance of easily won coal and iron at our doors, and we possess the capital, and have developed the population necessary for the application of this power to industry. A generation ago Jevons pointed out that our relative superiority in respect to this possession of power must pass away, and declared his belief that persons then living would see this loss of superiority. His argument attracted attention, but was much misunderstood. It continues to be misunderstood and misstated. His prophecy, however, is fulfilled. Already we have lost the superiority which has given us our position. If we compare the figures of the production of coal in the United Kingdom and in the United States we find that the quantity turned out across the Atlantic has crept up to and passed by, the quantity produced here.

What is more, the average price at the pit mouth in the United States has fallen below the average prices here. Still more, the excitement of business during the last two or three years told upon the price of coal with us at home more than it told upon the price of coal in the United States. Whence it may, I think, be inferred that the marginal cost of production has not only fallen below the marginal cost here, but that the reserves of extensible production in the United States show a greater elasticity than our reserves, and hence indicate a power on the part of America of increasing the superiority already established.

The story of the production of iron and steel reveals similar facts to those taught us by the review of the production of coal. The material elements of power are cheaper in America than in Great Britain. Nor is it of any use saying that other powers are being brought under the dominion of man besides that of steam. The question we are concerned with is the relative possession of power by this country and other countries, and our commercial position can not be buttressed by the discovery of new powers unless it can be shown that in respect of them we have some superiority. The truth, is, however, that the one new force which, by electro-transformation, is producing such effect in the industrial world is a force in respect of which we are relatively inferior to many nations. We have not the

falling waters which are made to light the streets and move the cars in distant cities, as is the case in North America and in Switzerland. There is no comfort for us in the notion that iron and coal may be less important factors in determining the industrial supremacy of the future.

I have said that we have built up our position because we had the elements of power and the capital and the population necessary to make use of them. It must be added that our immense superiority in the possession of capital is also passing, if it has not passed away, and it need not be said that we are being overtapped in respect of population. This last fact has been generally apprehended, but it does not seem to have been so clearly and widely understood that we can no longer boast of being easily first in command of capital. The way in which American bonds and share certificates have been for several years returned from England to the United States has indeed been much noticed, and there have not been wanting lugubrious observers who have cried out that we were living upon our capital. I do not myself believe that there is any evidence that English capitalists have, individually or collectively, been using up their means. So far as we have as a nation been running into debt during the past few years, capital has been destroyed, and of course capitalists, as citizens, will have to bear their share of the loss involved in this destruction.

What has happened is that capital has been so accumulated in the United States as to reduce the level of interest there to such a degree that our capitalists have found it profitable (or at all events have thought that they found it profitable) to withdraw their investments from the United States, and to acquire in their stead other investments on this side of the Atlantic, opportunities for which have been given, directly or indirectly, by new government loans. The essential fact is that the rate of interest on the best stocks in the United States is so nearly on a level with the corresponding rate here as to produce a reflux from the United States to Europe of the capital that at one time continually flowed from Europe to the United States. It is only necessary to turn to the prices of stocks in any financial paper to see the evidence attesting these statements. The inter-

est which an investor would get who puts his money into United States Government securities is less than he would get by investing in English Consols. Nor is the gravity of this fact affected by the remembrance that the interest on Consols will soon be automatically reduced—a fact insufficient in itself to account for the difference of return, and against which must be set the enormous premium carried by the bulk of American government stocks, and pointing to a reduction in the future of the rate of interest paid upon them.

Turning also to the stocks of leading American railways, such as the Pennsylvania and the New York Central, we find very little difference between the return which an investor gets in buying such stocks and what he would get in buying stock in the leading English railways. Prices vary from time to time, so that there is now an advantage on one side and now on the other, and it may be correctly said that they are practically on a par. All these circumstances—and more of the same kind might be multiplied—point to the conclusion that the accumulation of capital in the United States has reached a level equal to our own in relation to the available means of secure employment.

It will be noticed that I have said nothing about the operation on our comparative position, of the war in which we were engaged for something over two years. The change in our economic relations has indeed been in process for a long time. It was undergoing a rapid acceleration before the war began, and its consummation can not, in my judgment, be rightly attributed to the war. That factor must make the position worse for us, not only on account of the economic waste primarily involved in it, but also through the great increase of unproductive expenditures which must long follow the war. Some set-off there may be through the operation of similar expensive tastes in other countries, but in this respect at least it seems as if we must be long pre-eminent. Our normal war expenditure is now far in excess of that of any of our rivals.

Something should perhaps be added touching the plans of evading or preventing the impending change in our industrial position which have been put forth in different quarters. But

I am rather sick of quackeries, which should deceive no one. Education in general is a good thing, and so is technical education in particular. Both should be pursued for their own sakes, but I am slow to believe that we are being outdistanced owing to our inferiority in respect of them, and Lord Armstrong was apparently of this opinion. It may be true that American captains of industry are more daring, more prompt, and more resolute in seizing upon and developing the opportunities offered them than our masters, satiated by the conservatism of past prosperity. It may be that German workmen are more punctual, more exact, and more assiduous than the same classes at home, but the prime causes of the change in our position are no more to be found in these comparisons than in the oft-repeated suggestion that we are beaten through the restraints of trade unionism. As to our finding comfort in protective alliances with our colonies, it is far too late to dream of such remedies. In the first place, the self-governing colonies would not agree to this, and next, if they did, we should sacrifice more in the loss of foreign trade than we should gain by exclusive occupation of their markets.

The truth is, we have grown to be what we are through our throwing open our markets to all the world. Had it seemed wise (as it would have been foolish) to our forefathers we might have remained a limited population, poorly off, but maintaining under difficult conditions a comparative independence in the world. On the contrary, we let ourselves go and grow; our population has multiplied, our wealth increased and the average comfort of existence has been bettered. We can not now cut off facilities of intercourse with any part of the world without suffering from it, for it is upon that facility that we have grown and our health and vigor have been maintained. Inevitable change elsewhere may arrest the rate of further growth, may stop it, may even—though this does not seem to me threatening—produce a decline in our numbers and means. It is a future which should make the most trivial of politicians grave, and it is idle, and worse than idle, to refuse to face the prospect. The first thing to be done as a way of preparation for what is before us is to realize its character and its certainty.

## M. BRUNETIERE vs. REALISM

PAULINE CARRINGTON BOUVE

The art of criticism is, perhaps, of all arts the most difficult, the most exacting, and in its perfection, the rarest. The true critic must possess a mind that is broad in its comprehension of general effect and at the same time definitive in its grasp of detail and minutiae; an intelligence which seizes upon process and result, and one which, by the tests of logic, philosophy, analogy and comparison, is able to deduce the true value of the thing considered, not only in its relation to art, but also in its relation to humanity.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière, the distinguished French Academician and the brilliant editor of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, represents to the literary world of our century the correct standard of impartial criticism, and is himself the best contemporary type of a literary critic. M. Brunetière combines in his mental equilibrium the requisite qualities of judgment, taste, accuracy and knowledge in such evenly adjusted measures that a harmonious and clear perception of design and motive as well as of style and effect is always the result of his critical investigations. In a word, he applies scientific knowledge and philosophic consideration to those aspects, or rather relations, of life which are first estimated through the medium of his artistic temperament.

No other contemporary writer has more clearly defined to the public mind that much-abused term, "realism," as applied to the literary art, than M. Brunetière, and it is upon the series of essays on this school of French literature, published under the title of "Le Roman Naturaliste," that this brief study of his work and influence is based.

The conscientious accuracy of his valuations, the absence of individual prejudice, and the incomparably brilliant style and composition of these essays cannot, of course, be adequately or even satisfactorily exemplified in the curtailed excerpts translated from each; yet, in view of the fact that the iron-

bound copyright laws that exclude the French editions from translation must necessarily debar those who do not read French from a very great pleasure, and because, too, the present time seems especially fitted for a more general presentation of his attitude toward what is called "realism" in fiction, the following study is offered to the public as a sort of handbook of "*Le Roman Naturaliste*" to those who have not read these collected essays in their original form.

## I.

### THE REALISTIC NOVEL.

Since 1875, the French writers who call themselves "realists" have passed through several phases of development, and in the opening essay on "The Realistic Novel," M. Brunetière considers their successive phases of expression.

Certainly no other form of literary expression so easily adapts itself to divers exigencies of taste, environment, and social influence as the novel, and for this reason, as M. Brunetière remarks, it appeals particularly to our democratic society. If it is true that this sort of literature aspires to fix itself under some definite form, and that realism is to be that form, becoming to art what positivism is to philosophy, then, indeed, it becomes necessary to find out just what this "realistic form" is; its doctrine, its purpose, and its influence upon the art and metaphysics of the future. It is in the latter aspect that M. Brunetière regards the phenomenon of "realism."

"If," says he in the opening pages of "The Realistic Novel," "it was lack of talent, poverty of resources, or the barrenness of the period which sought to conceal its true character under the guise of a doctrine, one might take its part, while hoping for better things, but it is not that at all. It is the premeditated intention and systematic effort to reverse the eternal laws of art."

In Zola's treatment of the novel, "one may see the results of these theories and the fruit that they have borne." Assuredly his own definition of his own pet theme—"the idea of an entirely experimental and entirely materialistic modern art"—is a sufficient excuse, if one were needed, for M. Brunetière's

somewhat aggressive exposition of this "materialistic art." He speaks with no uncertain utterance, and those whose life work it is to present phases of human experience before men and women who are, perhaps, less capable of drawing the proper deductions from such portrayals, and whose lives may be more or less colored by the impressions produced by them, would do well to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest." As M. Brunetière says of this materialistic art: "It is an art which sacrifices form to matter, design to color, sentiment to sensation, the ideal to the real; an art which does not shrink from vulgarity or even recoil from brutality; an art which appeals to the multitude, and which makes art itself a prey to the grossest instincts of the masses rather than elevating their intelligence to the height of art." So much for the ideal critic's estimate of Zola's "materialistic modern art."

In touching upon the causes which have tended toward giving an impetus to this sort of literature, M. Brunetière declares that "it is the willingness of our contemporary novelists to mingle art with science and industry that has contributed more than any other cause" toward thrusting the novel into the paths of realism.

"Commerce and industry," he says, "are certainly great and beautiful forces, but can they ever give to the intellectual senses of man that satisfaction which they promise to his physical appetites and wellbeing, and ought they, even in the distant future, to become a prolific source of poetic inspiration?"

When Zola announces his intention to solve the double question of temperament and of society,—"the mathematical thread which leads from one man to another man,"—and states that, like gravity, heredity has its laws, the arrogance of the assertion is irritating. M. Brunetière's clear insight does not fail him when he replies: "All that is very well; but science, which has demonstrated or very nearly demonstrated the laws of gravity, has yet to determine those of heredity."

It is this assumption of the right to lay bare all the subtleties, the everlasting mysteries of life, the restless effort to tear away all the illusions which beautify and sweeten existence, the deliberate intention to set before humanity the lower

rather than the higher types of its kind, that has made a certain class of "realistic novel" a factor of evil in the world.

M. Brunetière disclaims the motive of a moralist. He does not wish to consider the question of the morality or immorality of certain so-called "realistic novels," but he merely examines the methods employed in the evolution of such books. If morality, however, is the law of life, then art is certainly not independent of it, and the sincere critic of any art necessarily considers the question of morality, whether he is conscious of the fact or not.

"Is it not natural," he continues, after remarking the fashion of these writers to introduce science into the realm of fiction,—"is it not natural that these novelists of the day fatigue us with their interminable technical descriptions, their pitiless special details?" And then he goes on to say that Balzac, whom the disciples of realism claim as one of their brothers in art, was not, strictly speaking, a realist. The distinction that he draws between the methods of the incomparable author of the "*Comédie Humaine*" and those used by our modern novelists is strikingly clear and convincing.

"Balzac knew that art is more than a servile imitation, and that for the novelist as well as for the painter, the study of living models is necessary as a means and not as an end; and because he understood this, he inspired his characters with a logic and committed to the developments of passion a sequel that neither the characters nor the passion would have possessed in real life, crossed and thwarted as both always are by natural weakness and irresolution, and by the daily necessities of social hypocrisy.

"His imitators have changed all that. Some of them strive only to reflect with a minute and puerile exactitude the most trivial incidents of reality. M. Flaubert shows us in his "*Education Sentimentale*" a masterpiece of this misanthropic and microscopic realism; the last novels of M. Malot are faithful expressions of it. Flaubert, in "*Madame Bovary*," and MM. de Goncourt, in "*Germinie Lacerteux*," would appear to have absorbed themselves in the uninteresting study of a pathological case with a view to competing with medical clinic in romance."

These have their followers, and the "Natural and Social Histories" of M. Zola are in a great measure the product of their inspiration. Others have invented what is called "sentimental realism," which seems to M. Brunetière better defined as a rather too exclusive sympathy with the humble and disinterested world!

Speaking of novelists of this school, M. Brunetière remarks that each can usually be traced back to some contemporaneous English writer, notably Dickens; and as an example he cites M. Alphonse Daudet. Dickens's superiority in what he denominates an "inferior style" is due, he believes, to the power of poetic hallucination and to the inimitable "accent of personal emotion and of suffering endured" that appeals so forcibly to the reader from the pages of "David Copperfield." "Daudet certainly possesses some of the best qualities of composition, and is absolutely faithful in his observation, but his emotion is nervous rather than tender, and he is often unfortunate in his choice of subjects. In portraying vulgar society he conscientiously maintains his intrigue, but the intrigue fails of interest." In this connection the author of "*Le Roman Réaliste*" makes a very beautiful disquisition on the uses and abuses of literary art.

"The humblest and least worthy among us have also a right to romance, but only on the condition that to the depths of their degradation one ray of the ideal light may be let to penetrate, and that, instead of shutting them within the narrow confines in which they have been placed by birth and vice, we should withdraw them from those environments and make them move to the tune of those sentiments which lighten all faces, dry all eyes and touch all hearts. We should be thankful, too, to M. Daudet, for not having made one slip toward indecency or libertinage under pretext of fidelity to nature in so dangerous a book as '*Le Petit Chose*'; but we beg to remind him that it is not enough that the manners of a novel are decent,—'that there is a ridicule so low and so gross, or so weak and insignificant, that it is beneath the use of the novelist and the amusement of the reader.'"

And the reader of these words of M. Brunetière feels that

if the writer disclaims being a moralist, he cannot deny that he is a teacher.

Of Zola's five-volumed novel, "Les Rougon-Macquart," he says: "It is difficult to imagine such a predilection for the odious in the choice of a subject, such a taste for the ignoble and repulsive in the delineation of character, such materialism and brutality of style."

Now, in a recent preface the author of the "Rougon-Macquart" exclaimed: "I would wish to place humanity upon one white page,—all things, all beings,—in a work which would be an immense arch."

"Noble and magnificent ambition," replies Brunetière, "but is humanity then composed of knaves, fools and monsters? An artist has his rights, but the mutilation of nature is not one of them." *The mutilation of nature!* In those four words lies the condemnation of Zola's work; for surely it is mutilation to show only a part of the picture; to blacken the sunshine; to disclose only the diseased portion of humanity until the mind is sick with dread lest truth, purity, honest intention and virtuous living be indeed all myths.

As an artist, the author of "Le Roman Naturaliste" accords all due praise to the author of "Le Ventre de Paris" and "La Faute de L'Abbé Mouret." Without doubt this apostle of what he himself alone knows as realism possesses a wonderful vigor of touch, and produces sometimes idyllic pictures; he is faithful and conscientious in making truthful reproduction of certain diseased conditions of the mind and of the body, but his reader reads him with a sigh: "Alas! In what a world has poor M. Zola lived! What a sick and morbid fancy to interest us solely in people who are all either criminal or insane!"

Do these blackly morbid, grotesque and deformed creatures represent humanity as it really exists? The closing pages of the essay on the "Realistic Novel of 1873" contain a wise and convincing reply to the question.

"There does not beat a heart that has never been stirred, a mind that has not thought, an imagination that has not dreamed. Just as the form of man, although it no longer has,

in our colder climates, that purity of contour which it once possessed under Grecian skies,—although it has been degraded by misery, deformed by toil and bent by the power of modern civilization to the yoke of material custom—still preserves some traces of its native dignity and nobility, so also have we ourselves, come though we are to the extreme limits of democratic equality,—absorbed in the paltry exigencies of our social existence, constantly pursuing fortune and the gratification of our own self-love,—yet preserved within us some portion of the *man*, and some of that power by which we are enabled to elevate ourselves, either through the passionate desire of our hearts or through the magic of our minds, to heights above the realism that oppresses us. \* \* \* Without doubt we must build upon reality, since it is the foundation of all things, the cornerstone of art and of imagination. But whenever in poetry or fiction it is used as the background or vehicle for the expression of the mawkish sentimentality of abstract symbolism, it becomes simply a confused and useless piece of machinery. \* \* \* It is not sufficient to see ; it is necessary to feel. Nature becomes truly beautiful, or moves us, only when it crosses the illusion of our own sentiments, only when it transports us in itself and only when that force in our hearts which is the source of all our emotion is never exhausted. \* \* \* And this is not all. From the midst of the common and prosaic things of existence, it is necessary to release the secret beauty which lies imprisoned there. We must discard, choose, borrow from reality her forms and means of expression, in order to be able to transfigure and to idealize reality herself, and force her to convey to humanity the interior idea of a higher beauty."

What stronger plea for the ideal in literary art could be urged? From M. Brunetière's point of view, beauty becomes a duty, and the reader is constrained to believe with him that "the world of art is more true than the world of nature and of history," for the reason he pleads so eloquently : "because here we no longer note the fearful and infrangible discrepancy which the conditions of our human existence so pitilessly impose between the magnificence of the goal we are always striving to attain, and the mockingly inadequate means with which we are endowed for the effort."

## CONTAGIONS IN LITERATURE

ROBERT ADGER BOWEN

Contagious diseases in the body fiction are different from contagious diseases in the human body in one important respect. While the patient in either case may become infected without his knowledge, too often, indeed, the literary man becomes diseased through his own deliberate effort. Scientific vaccination does not offer a parallel, for that intentional contamination is done as a safe-guard against greater evil. The fiction writer injects the poison into his style with no worthy end in view, frequently with the sole aim of making thereby a bid for popularity. Nowhere is it more true that what is one man's meat is another man's poison than in the art, or rather in the craft, of fiction-making, for the consideration of artistic fiction is set aside for the moment. It is the failure to recognize this almost self-evident truth that allows of the rapacious school of sharks that follows every successful venture in literature. Elizabeth writes her Garden, and immediately half the wives of sub-urban clerks, and many of the clerks themselves, if of literary proclivities, ring their small changes on their anvils, utterly unconscious that while Elizabeth strikes steel, both their hammers and their anvils are of worm-eaten wood. The peculiarity of style that may serve to lift one writer into distinction more or less deserved—it is generally less—is seized upon with avidity by all the aspiring authors as a stepping-stone to fame; and the lamentable part of the thing is that it often proves a stepping-stone, if not to fame, at least to a hearing and public acknowledgment entirely undeserved.

Thus it happens that the broader tributaries to the stream of literature are whipped into nasty little eddies of eroticism, personal disclosures of humiliating abandon, character studies of certain none too refined type, or shallowed out into historical-romantic pools, stagnant of their own lack of depth. Every year piles up the number of poor books taking their

incentive through the spur of imitation, and the wonder has come to be, not that the books are so bad, but that they are no worse. Although their very titles are mere variations from the original, the publishers accept, the reviewers glow into superlatives, the public reads, and the bubble bursts. We pass through epidemics of shibboleths each twelve months, and the far off echo will continue to be heard frequently so long as the original book sells, or until some new "hit" is made to lure after it the legion who write. Even to this day there are would-be authors striving hard to write another "David Harum." "Ben Hur" still stirs the waters of many brains, and the "human document" continues to swing into ken with an ever weakening force. Types in fiction arise, not because there are corresponding types in that little world of humanity known to the authors employing the type, but because the type has appeared and scored a success in some popular novel. It is, of course, no new thing in literary history for the master to have his followers, and if this is an age when the masters are few, the followers, at least, are innumerable. Indeed, this is a most comfortable age in which to be an enemy! Attacks on personal character have become an awkward revenge in comparison to the refinement of waiting for the enemy to bring forth the inevitable book.

Literary contagion does not stop, however, with the mere incentive to write a similar book. A far more dangerous infection is that wherein an author of some ability adopts the tricks of another, certain very detestable tricks, and helps to perpetuate them into a convention. In this aspect of the disease we look for the unusual adjective, for instance, that hideous though, in its right use, subtly nice one "raucous". Here, too, we find the strained use of the adverb, the hyphenated monstrosity, such as "boyishly-sophisticatedly," and that swarm of particular abominations which have become as the earmarks of the second-rate in literary taste,—the fictional terms "went red," (or white), "going pale," "well-groomed," "get on the nerves," and their kind.

Almost as vicious an irruption is the aping of a familiar acquaintance with certain manifestations of art. The

Botticelli face has attained a shuddering frequency, while a plain Madonna face has come to be almost an essential element in the make-up of the ordinary heroine of fiction. The fact that passions and emotions, characteristics and qualities, are attached to these conventional masks no more in keeping with a Botticelli or anybody's Madonna than the maternal effulgence upon the face of a Messalina never seems to enter into the little trick at all. The tea-drinking, or rather the tea-pouring, habit in fiction has also developed into a disease. In a recent novel the characters drink tea every time they are where a tea kettle might be supposed to be kept, their thirst for it seemingly equally great in ladies' parlors or working-men's cottages, the habit, in fiction, at least, ceasing to be one of social significance merely, and becoming an emotional barometer. One grows inexpressibly weary of this artificially sought "atmosphere." The same spirit exists in the setting of scenes meant to give color and character. The touch is so affected, the result is so thetic, that if the picture were meant to express heartless insincerity instead of, as is generally the case, exquisite refinement of susceptibility, the denouement would be as perfect as it really is imperfect. The sleight of hand by which a clever person may seize upon the ingredients of a popular story and compound them into a salable book is not a difficult knack to acquire if one have the patience. The remarkable thing is that when anything like individuality of style creeps into the work the author is not wise enough to begin over again on the basis of that individuality, and do away with the borrowed finery. Not being thus wise, his first book is fortunately very apt to be his last.

The market is full of these first-last books, the offspring of ignorant young women who do up the historical romance romantically, the labors of beardless youths who seize upon social and economic problems that would stagger a Herbert Spencer or a Tolstoi. The peculiar saying that every man has it in him to write one book should be revised to meet the developments of the age. Every man has it in him to write two books, one the result of his experience and knowledge and wisdom, the other the result of his imitative faculties and bland

bumptiousness. The latter would be a *tour de force*, and deserve no more than it would get, an ephemeral life; the other would be a true "human document." The *tour de force* would probably get published and reviewed, and be imitated; the "human document" would be rejected, but that fact would not keep it from being the worthier production.

That contagion in literature is really due to a microbe and is not merely the result of a man's gifts of imitation may be proved by the fact that authors in embryo are frequently afflicted in like manner and at the same time. Some unknown germ produces among the writing class an epidemic of books on subjects of public interest,—Trusts, the political Machine, Labor and Capital, a recent war, the divorce problem. Out of the thousand written one may see the light of popularity, and then the thousand written will be multiplied many times over. But to trace the working of that original microbe would prove an interesting study in pathology.

There is another very interesting kind of contagion of which this age of easily incubated authors is fruitful, and that is what may be termed the subjective contagion, the contagion that an author catches from his own success. We hear much about first books, their limitations, their promise which justifies acceptance, their reason for lenient judgment, their sometime merited success. The second book is even a more interesting phenomenon. Often it has nothing to recommend it except the fact that its author has published before, and generally along the same lines as those followed in the second attempt. Failure, of course, is a foregone conclusion, but the public has not yet found that out, and the second book may sell before it is on the market far better than it will once it gets out. These second drawings of tea are seldom vitalized; too often they are but a pale and tasteless steeping of the lees; sometimes they are even efforts ante-dating the first book and rehashed; but they possess a psychologic value, nevertheless, in the study of the author cult.

As the writing of works of fiction in its highest development has for its principal aim the artistic reproduction of human character, so the contagion the most fatal to the health

of the novel is the spreading of conventional types. There are certain types that become part of the stock in trade of the fiction-monger, as necessary for his purpose as the conventional settings of a modern stage, in which the same scenery will often do for the graveyard in "Hamlet" or the village green in a New England melodrama. Such are the old uncles and aunts of stereotyped character and comfortable incomes who die opportunely as they never do in real life, the men-servants and maid-servants, the jovial family doctors, the clergymen of slightly varying degrees of hypocrisy and lust of the flesh. These characters are but the adjuncts, the properties of the piece, the foils for the "stars." Tiresome as it is to meet these familiar old dummies, it is so seldom that they have any life infused into their veins that we cease to expect it, and come to regard them as we do the well-trained mediocrities of a stock company who won't go wrong even if they can't be expected to do anything else. But the contagion of similarity among leading types—that is a very different thing.

Wherein originality of characterization really consists is too delicate a matter to be considered just here. The most original book may be cast in the most hackneyed mould. Its plot, its scenes, its incidents, may all be "stock," its *dramatis personae* may all have had their prototypes, and yet there may be the saving grace of a very true originality. The perpetuation of a type is quite another matter, a far more serious artistic short-coming. The continued use of the type in a work of fiction is the introduction into a book of a literary gangrene that will taint the whole. Even the problem novel is not more surely foreordained to artistic damnation. Like the problem novel, the type character is in its nature essentially inartistic, not a man but a manikin, not flesh and blood and inspiration, but a preconceived purpose written up to, and worked out by rule of thumb. No pre-eminently great picturer of character ever used types, though many may be said to have bred them in others. Thackeray had no types; Dickens fell a prey to a host of his own making. Shakespeare created no types, but Byron turned loose upon the world an epidemic of the plague. In our own day

an author who writes many books is peculiarly prone to fall into the type habit until, as pecuniary success deadens his ambition, or as he works thin his vein of originality, his books are filled with earmarks, and an adjectival hybrid formed of the author's name is used to designate what becomes his habit of human characterization. His work ceases to reproduce human nature as it is transfused through a poetic imagination, as it is inexhaustible and ever-varying, as it is moulded by sympathetic insight from the crude objective to the vitalized subjective, and produces instead types formed upon his own acquired way of writing about things; and this is a test which few indeed may expect to stand.

The contagion of general style is the most helpless form of all literary contagion. It embraces in itself traces of all that has been before alluded to, and brands the user as an artificer rather than as an artist. For a very faulty style that is one's own offers more hope than a very cleverly adapted style of another's, or a skilful amalgam of the styles of many others. There are many books written each year that, from start to finish, are sprung from books instead of from observation of life. They are well done, they are clever, they are perfectly superficial, they are entirely lifeless. Their authors might write, could they escape the contagion of example, the commonplaces of the tricks of the trade, if they could forget the jargon of popularity. It would be a blessed thing for Twentieth Century literature if authors could be prohibited from reading new books. Undoubtedly three-fourths of them would find their inspiration gone, and flutter away to other pastimes, but of the remaining fourth, several would reach originality. Most of the good fiction of the world has been written by those who had, first, something to say, and, second, little contemporary fiction to read. The something to say need not involve a plot, it need not demand something new under the sun, either in combination of incidents or in marshalling of situations, but it does imperatively call for an author to say it, a creator, a literary entity.

## "LITTLE" JAPAN

Nothing reveals more clearly the ignorance of the Western press concerning the Orient than the continual representation of Japan as a small and weak country. Editorial writers, magazine writers, and caricaturists, of course, continually portray Japan as what Mr. Roosevelt would call a "weakling", or as a little terrier attacking the great bear of the North. Japan is presented to the readers of this country, and also to the readers of all Europe, by the press of the two continents, as entirely unable to cope with Russia in the war that now seems inevitable.

This conception of Japan it would be amusing to trace to its origin. It is a common failing of humanity to think ill of all foreigners. It is so that the English consider the French, the Americans the English, and so on with respect to every people and nation. In the case of an Asiatic people, this conception is carried by Westerners to an extreme of prejudice, narrow-mindedness, and stupid ignorance. The memory of the conquest of Europe by Asiatic armies should still be fresh enough in the historic consciousness to make such a conception ridiculous. Asiatic tribes swept over Europe from all sides—the Arab and Persian from the west, the Hun from the east, and the Osmanli from the south. They not only conquered Europe, but maintained themselves in spite of the united strength of Christendom. The Osmanli still holds Constantinople, and the Tatar still holds Russia. In fact it is the Tatar that is now, after his conquests and transformation in Russia, who is turning his face back to the East, and seeking the conquest of India, China, Korea, and Japan.

In spite of these facts, however, the yellow race has long been considered by occidentals as diminutive and not worthy of serious regard. The Japanese, especially, have been looked upon as a small people, as a little folk like the conies of the rock, and as inhabiting a mere handful of earth that rises above the Black Current and the Pacific ocean. It is astonishing to find that this view of Japan and the Japanese prevails even in supposedly informed quarters, upon the very brink of a war

that may prove to be one of the most sanguinary and important struggles of history.

On the other hand, the great power of Russia, which politically over-shadows Europe and Asia, is conceived by Western writers as irresistible. One would suppose,—were he not otherwise informed,—from reading accounts of these two rivals, that when Russia chooses to advance, Japan will be crushed like a mushroom beneath its feet. No matter what may be the result of a possible war between these two nations, no conception of the relative strength of the two antagonists could be farther from the truth.

It should be remembered, first of all, that Japan has never been conquered, has never been beaten in war. It should also be remembered that a foot of her soil has never been held by an enemy for an appreciable time in all its history. It should also be remembered that the very hordes that Genghis Khan and his predecessors and successors led in triumph against Russia and central Europe, and which overthrew Persia and India and Afghanistan and Russia and Hungary, were easily beaten by the Japanese. The most formidable army of invasion that was ever thrown upon an island empire was completely annihilated by the Japanese.

It has been said that the Japanese have never fought a serious war with a white nation, and are an unknown martial quantity. It may be said with equal truth that Russia has never faced the Japanese in war, and that therefore the Russians in a conflict with the Japanese are an unknown quantity. But there is abundant material for estimating the strength on sea and land of these two peoples. In the first place, as shown above, the Japanese beat the hordes that conquered Russia. In the second place, the Japanese in their conflict with China in 1894 proved themselves superior to the Chinese in a greater degree than the Russians or any European soldiery proved themselves superior to the Chinese in any conflict in history. Again, in the international extravaganza, known as the march on Peking, the Japanese soldiers marched and fought side by side with the picked soldiery of Europe and America. In that experience they showed themselves superior to the

American and European troops in every respect. They marched better, they fought better, and displayed more neatness at the beginning and at the end of the day's march, giving a better account of themselves in every detail; and almost every Western commander engaged in the operations against the Chinese "Boxers" admitted that they were at least the equal, if not the superior, of all other soldiers engaged in the expedition.

Outside of these general comparisons, Japan is not a small country and the Japanese are not a weak people. There are, in the main islands that constitute the empire, some 42,000,000 Japanese. The empire of Japan contains about 150,000 square miles, or about one-quarter more area than England, Scotland and Wales. In other words, the Japanese empire is considerably larger than Great Britain, and contains about 10,000,000 more people. The empire is fortunate in being an island realm, so that it can not be attacked except from the sea. This, in view of its powerful navy, probably superior to that of Russia, gives it a tremendous advantage in a war with the northern empire. Again, it is so close to the Asiatic continent that it could land its troops in Korea or Siberia much more rapidly than Russia could march them over land or transport them on the Siberian railway. Again, the 42,000,000 Japanese are more closely knit by national ties, by loyalty, and patriotism and zeal, than any equal number of people on the face of the globe. In this respect they resemble ancient Sparta, the Dutch in Europe, and the magnificently heroic Boers.

As to their military qualities, it is well known that the Japanese army is not only of considerable size, but that its discipline and equipment are fully equal to that of the French or German forces. The present standing army of Japan is something like 650,000 troops, or equal in size to the army of either France or Germany, and in military efficiency it is undoubtedly superior to either. In addition to this, the available forces of Japan would be many times this number, as every male Japanese above fourteen would eagerly rush to war either to defend the empire or to attack its assailants.

The relative fighting quality of the two nations is of

course problematical, as they have never faced each other in the field. There is no doubt, however, that the Japanese are much better soldiers than the Russians. The Japanese are naturally better fitted for war. They are of medium size, wiry, and tough, agile, energetic, alert, and full of initiative, and they readily adapt themselves to modern warfare where the individual soldier is everything, and an army, in mass, is nothing. In this respect they are as mobile as the Boers, and probably would give as good an account of themselves against the Russians as the Boers did against the British.

The Russian has never shown himself a great fighter. He was never the equal of the Pole or Finn or the Turk, all of whom he conquered by superior numbers. He was never the equal of the little Frenchmen that Napoleon led against him at Austerlitz or at Friedland. He was not the equal of the English and French, or even of the inexperienced Sardinians, in the Crimea, and showed poorly in comparison with the demoralized Turk in the late war. The only strength of Russia, as it has always been, is in tremendous numbers; and her great numbers can not easily be used against Japan, because great numbers of troops can not be transported or marched across the Asiatic continent.

In a conflict between Russia and Japan, the navies of the two countries would be, at first, the deciding factors. The Russian navy, although it has been repeatedly represented in the press of this country and Europe as very much stronger than the Japanese, is really inferior to that of its rival. The Russians have six battleships, of 71,000 tons displacement; while the Japanese have six battleships, with a tonnage of 85,000. The eight Russian cruisers with a tonnage of 70,000, would be opposed by thirteen Japanese cruisers with a tonnage of 90,000. In addition to these principal fighting craft, Japan has more torpedo boat destroyers and more torpedo boats. Both navies would have in Asiatic waters sufficient supplies of coal and ammunition, but the advantage would inevitably, in a long war, be with the Japanese, as they would fight nearer home. So that in a contest between the navies this year, the Japanese would probably have a better chance of success.

In the event Japan proved herself superior on sea, the tide of war would immediately set for the victor. Japan could seal up the three great harbors of Russia in the far East—Vladivostok, Dalny, and Port Arthur. She could seal these up indefinitely, and probably force Russia to terms of peace. But she could do more than seal up these harbors—she could land her troops where and when she pleased on the Asiatic coast, moving them from point to point, cutting the Russian communications, striking the Russian line wherever it was weakest, in its attenuated length from Sakhalin to Port Arthur; and in the meanwhile she could arm and train the Koreans and Chinese for a struggle for the maintenance of the integrity of the yellow race. Japan, in these circumstances, could throw upon the continent of Asia more troops than Russia could possibly bring over land from Europe. The Japanese could therefore turn the war into a war of defense, and force the Russians to attack the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese forces along a selected line of defense, or give up Muscovite aspirations in the Far East. In the meanwhile, the Japanese forces would cut off by land the Russian troops in the three fortified ports, and put them entirely out of the fighting.

It is seen from even a cursory view of the situation in the Far East, that Japan is by no means a negligible quantity, and that she is probably a match for Russia in any conflict that may take place over Korea and Manchuria. It is not Japan's policy to attack; it is her policy to hold and defend. She would attack only at short range, where the blow would be really a defensive act, in order to cripple the forces of her adversary. In other words, in the kind of war that will be fought some day by the Russians and Japanese, the chances are, we think, with the brilliant and magnificently courageous people who have been able for three thousand years to maintain their liberty against the outside world, and who, within fifty years, have assimilated Western methods so perfectly as to make themselves superior in military science to the masters who taught them.

## TWO NEW ENGLAND WRITERS—IN RELATION TO THEIR ART AND TO EACH OTHER

JULIA R. TUTWILER

Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary E. Wilkins are New England writers in the color, atmosphere, and spirit of their work as distinctively as in their birthplace. They have both chosen to depict New England village and country life and character, they are both realists, both have failed in the historical novel, and both have done their finest work, not on the large canvas that demands a broad brush and bold modeling, but against a background limited to effects produced by low relief in line and color.

And yet these broad and easy parallels only emphasize the oblique divergence of their gifts and ideals of expression, their definition of the art of the Short Story, and what they have read in and into the face that life has turned upon them. Miss Jewett's inspiration is Greek in its love of beauty, its serene optimism, and its copious simplicity; while Mary E. Wilkins' art is essentially Gothic in the sombre rigidity of its moral ideals, and in a union of childlike directness and reticence that embroider economy of phrase with delicate and intricate suggestion.

Their very realism roots in alien soils and bears flowers that blow to opposite points of the compass. Mary E. Wilkins' is purely objective. Her detachment reminds one of Bastien Lepage; she has no personal feeling, but she has immense personal insight. Miss Jewett is a realist in the sense that

Millet is a realist. She is concerned with the people and happenings of life's little days, and with nature's unobtrusive moments, and she makes them as distinct and complete to the reader's vision as they are to hers, but she puts her own spirit into whatever she sees and romance is the native air of this spirit. This sympathetic subjectivity imbues everything she writes with the charm of personality and is the redeeming virtue of her earliest sketches; for, unlike the author of "A New England Nun" and "A Humble Romance", whose first published work reached the high water mark of achievement in the Short Story, there is a meagreness in Miss Jewett's first stories which fills one with admiration for the discernment that perceived in them the promise fulfilled by "A Dunnett Shepherdess", "Martha's Lady", "A Marsh Island", and more than one other piece of delicate and finished workmanship. Writing done almost from childhood, and apparently with the spontaneity of a child, has developed out of inherited culture grafted upon a rarely beautiful nature the intellectual and spiritual distinction which removes "A Tory Lover" from the plane of ignoble failure and makes Sarah Orne Jewett's best work exquisitely inimitable. Any tyro might catch her phrase of expression, but no amount of copy could reproduce the soul that makes the phrase individual.

Again, this sympathetic subjectivity narrows her creative horizon to what she has felt in seeing and enlarges her vision within the limits of this horizon. Although she has traveled and observed in many countries, it is of her own that she writes, deliberately or unconsciously substituting depth of feeling for breadth of scene and character. She discerns and describes what escapes Mary E. Wilkins' perception or interest, and gives a sense of space composition and full, quiet breathing to the most restricted life and situation. This may be because her vision is colored by the large and tender spirit that sees beauty and matter for rejoicing in people and lives unconscious of either; and because she explicitly portrays character and situation where Mary E. Wilkins leaves them to utter their own speech. With the younger writer, the flesh is the obstacle through which the soul stutters half articulate;

with the other, it is merely the medium, the accident, as it were, of the soul's expression.

For Miss Jewett is not so much an observer as she is an interpreter of nature's and life's spiritual potencies. She is sensitively alive to nature's kinship with the human soul; but she sees the one apart from the other, each is dear to her as an individual existence, and from each she receives a message which the other could not deliver. Mary E. Wilkins, on the contrary, with all her power of vivid and delicate description, sees nature always in its relation to human passion. It is what the cinnamon roses symbolize to Elsie Mills, the elm tree to David Ransom, the balsam fir to Martha Elder, that appeals to her imagination, not the entity of the rose or tree.

The large, beneficent independence of nature that Miss Jewett delights in and rests upon, is for Mary E. Wilkins absorbed into its point of contact with human inclination. One secret of the unity and concentration of her work is that nature is only the background of the drama which moves, compact and complete, across the stage of her imagination. She herself remains always the spectator whose interest in the play and the players eliminates her own personality. You know her quality of mind, her poignant realization of the tragedy of life—there is a saturnine flavor even in her humor—her interest in certain social problems; but the woman is as great a stranger to you when you have read all her stories as before you turned their first page. While with Miss Jewett, the woman speaks uninterruptedly through the author. You catch the loveliest glimpses of her when you least expect it; you know her religion, her personal tastes, her little prejudices; you are tenderly aware of her lack of humor, of what she feels as well as what she thinks; upon every page a loving and trustful nature throws wide its delicate doors of companionship.

And partly because of this irresistible personality, her comradeship with nature, her responsiveness to all the sweet and dear humanities of life, her instinctive rejection of the repulsive and the harsh, and in spite of distinction rare in its quality and gifts of insight and description, she is not in the

modern sense either a novel or a Short Story writer. She lacks two essentials of both—concentration and constructive power. Her novels are moving pictures rather than one coherent, unified presentation of life; her shorter stories are impressions taken upon her imaginative sympathy, chapters out of her own life of emotion quite as much as out of the lives of her characters. The limitation of her gift—which is also its nobility—makes “A Tory Lover” flat and inconsecutive, and proves for the thousandth time that no amount of preparation or culture will take the place of historic imagination. Paul Jones is a feeble and ineffective shadow of the Paul Jones who lives “a man of like passions as ourselves” in Mr. Buell’s admirable biography.

In her other stories, Miss Jewett strays into lovely by-ways of reflection and meditation, and we go with her gladly, hand in hand, companioned in spirit and example by Irving and Hawthorne, Thackeray and Charlotte Bronté, and a score of other illustrious artists. It is only when we have momentarily escaped from the influence of her grace and charm that we ask ourselves, Is her art the art of the Short Story of her own day and generation? Certainly “Andrew’s Fortune”—and many others on her varied list—is the story that is short, a very different thing from the form of art technically classified as the Short Story; and even those exquisite etchings, “A Dunnett Shepherdess” and “The Queen’s Twin” are linked psychologically with the hour that precedes their own moment of existence. The last touches are put to William Blackett’s portrait in “A Dunnett Shepherdess”, but the first careful studies were made in “The Country of the Pointed Firs”; and it is our long established intimacy with Mrs. Todd which makes the hour with the queen’s twin a sympathetic unit. Strictly speaking, much of Miss Jewett’s most charming composition has neither beginning nor end—no skilfully ascending series of incident or emotion to a consistent and inevitable climax. Indeed, the very word “climax” is too emphatic, too sharply insistent for association with the tonal quality of her work, a work that stands apart from that of every other American writer of our time.

In curious contrast with the twentieth century unorthodoxy of her fervent creedless religion is the old-fashioned aroma permeating her style and thought—an aroma in no way dependent upon periods of time. In "A Tory Lover"—the only one of her stories which seems to have been made, not to have grown of itself—this aerial quality of suggestion is noticeably absent, while it lends a quiet distinction to her stories of modern and familiar setting. Reading "The Country of the Pointed Firs" is like opening one's grandmother's chest of spotless, lavendered linen, or spending a day in a deep forest glade within sight and sound of clear, softly flowing water, the sky blue above the pines and the air shot through and through with Indian summer sunshine.

There is no clinging sweetness of past fashions or ideals in Mary E. Wilkins' work. Lavender and thyme, however much she may choose to write about them, are not the flowers that grow in her garden of achievement. She is identified with the literary form of her own generation. Her theme is the interdictions of New England life and character, but it is the strenuous passion of the human filtered through the medium of the New England type that constrains her imagination. Her stories are about old-fashioned, provincial people, narrow conditions, the bleak dogma of isolated thought, and standards transmitted through tenacious, instinctive reproduction; but they are also finished examples of that form of literary art in which America ranks inferior to France alone, and inferior to France in bulk, not in the individual instance. Objectivity, the condensed phrase that suggests without explaining, ruthless excision of every word or incident not indivisible from the organic life of the unit, unswerving rapidity of movement to a climax psychologically and coherently ordained from the first tentative breath of conception, identify Mary E. Wilkins as a great twentieth century Short Story writer, and set as impassable a gulf between the form and spirit of her art and the art of Sarah Orne Jewett as her lack of distinction does. There is scarcely a story in "A New England Nun" or "A Humble Romance" which is not perfect or nearly perfect in form, and not one in which a happy ending is not

the price of rending anguish, or the happiness itself a tragic commentary upon life's denials and tyrannies. The rounded completeness of old Hetty Fifield's\* Christmas opens out a terrifying vista of pinching monotony, and the consummation of Nancy Pingree's\*\* ambition hardens the lump in your throat that her renunciation has put there.

Though "The Portion of Labor" has the strength characteristic of her first volume of Short Stories, it is upon these stories that Mary E. Wilkins' claim to a permanent place in American Literature is based. "The Revolt of Mother" has the qualities of the classic, and deserves the rank in American Fiction awarded to two of Hawthorne's most inferior stories, "The Ambitious Guest" and "The Stone Face". "Under-studies" is an example of the author's impassioned interest in the human to the exclusion of animal life, as "Six Trees" is an illustration of her subordination of nature to psychology. In "The Heart's Highway", she has made a cheap, if conscientious, effort to conform to the commercial demands of her profession, with the result that her historical novel, lacking the redeeming sincerity and distinction of Miss Jewett's ineffective story, falls without the pale of literary breeding that elevates even the inferior work of the older writer. Mary E. Wilkins' dramatic work is so far tentative, and no more enters into a serious consideration of her art than Sarah Orne Jewett's stories for children and girls and the verse written with the fluency of immature self-confidence form a coherent part of her contribution to literature. As to the charge of hackneyed types so often brought against both of these writers, it is the surface impression of readers who can not learn that to write about the same class and environment is not equivalent to writing about the same individual.

To sum up the relation of these New England writers to each other or to Fiction is not easy. Where Miss Jewett suffuses you with a delightful melancholy, Mary E. Wilkins makes your eyes smart with tears that refuse to fall. The

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\* "A Church Mouse."

\*\* "Old Lady Pingree."

one tells you that life itself is the reward of living; the other sends you freshly girded to the contest, but she never deceives you with the promise of extraneous victory; the guerdon of the battle is the way you bear yourself in it. Mary E. Wilkins has never done anything as exquisite as Mrs. Blackett, William, or old Elijah Willett's unconscious dedication to love's spiritual constancies; but Sarah Orne Jewett is incapable of writing any one of the Short Stories in "*A New England Nun*" or "*A Humble Romance*"; while at the same time her power to portray happy stillness, seclusion lovely and withdrawn, but not remote, the living that robs life of sordidness, is offset by Mary E. Wilkins' competent and coherent grasp upon the unities of incident, character, and emotion, just as her discovery, in literature, of old maidenhood as distinct from old maidism, is balanced by Miss Jewett's interpretation of old age. The inherent difference of their art makes invidious comparison of it impossible and places them side by side at the head of New England imaginative writers.

## THE WORK OF EDITH WHARTON

ANNA MCCLURE SHOLL

Artificiality of style, while precluding literary greatness, may possess certain positive merits, if it be an intimate expression of the author's mode of thought, an honest artificiality, weighed, measured and beautified. In the work of Sir Thomas Browne there is nothing spontaneous, yet the intricacy of his balanced sentences freighted with neologisms is fitted to express the processes of a mind continually preoccupied with strangeness. The artificial style of Walter Pater, the chief weapon of his adverse critics, is yet the natural outcome of his embroidered scholarship, his thirst for curious beauty, his love of the rarer moods of men. George Meredith, busied with the unusual, clothes his creations in a style suited to what is subtle and complex.

In this country Henry James has discredited artificiality by divorcing it—if the paradox be allowed—from the natural processes of his thought. On the other hand, the peculiar, if limited, merits of this style receive organic expression in the work of Edith Wharton. She illustrates effectively, and without loss of literary integrity, the uses to which such a style can be put; its fitness to express uncommon moods involved mental processes, curious psychological situations; to adumbrate beauty of the elusive order; to portray certain types of modern women, whose sensitiveness of fibre, the fruit of artificial conditions precludes a robuster setting.

Of one of her heroines she writes that she had the air of tacitly excluding the obvious and the unexceptional. It is the exclusion of the obvious and the unexceptional that gives to Mrs. Wharton's style at once its charm and that kind of artificiality which is just a trifle inhuman—except from hearty joys and hearty sorrows. She writes of tragic things epigrammatically, and tragedy and epigram are not mates. In comedy—her sense of humor is keen and delightful—she is

nearer the human heart, but still unabandoned, keeping throughout her aristocrat detachment and self-possession. If in the majority of her tales neither gaiety nor high tragedy predominates, it is perhaps because the moderate emotions of life are apt to be more complex, more obscure in their workings than a strong, direct feeling of joy or sorrow, and with what is complex and concealed in the human spirit she is chiefly concerned. In her two collections of short stories, "The Greater Inclination" and "Crucial Instances", things seen are as a rule ancillary to the hidden spiritual drama. The brilliant flashes of her wit emerge from mystery, as scarlet and green and purple from the matrix of the opal.

If Mrs. Wharton has justified her style in the choice of her subjects, she has shown also that the short story is adapted to the artificial manner at its best. Though in her longest work, "The Valley of Decision", and in the novelette, "The Touchstone", her peculiar virtues are evident, they flower in her short stories. In these her self-restraint, her remarkable sensitiveness to the uses of words, her gift of condensing a volume in an epigram, her fondness for fleeting moods, delicately balanced situations, her rare humor find agreeable setting. Such masterpieces as "The Pelican" and "The Duchess at Prayer" place her in the first rank of short-story tellers of whatever country.

Few writers understand with equal clarity and present with equal truth the masculine and the feminine natures, distinct in many ways despite the theory of one, undivided human nature. Mrs. Wharton's talent for complex psychological analysis finds its fittest exercise in the portrayal of high-bred modern women—souls requiring special study in this age of forced growths. She realizes that such women create curious situations by the very nature of their being.

In "The Muse's Tragedy" Sylvia Averton married to commonplaceness, but lifted out of the banality of her marriage and glorified by the famous poet Vincent Rendle, is enthroned, when the story opens, upon a lonely pinnacle of memories. The world, concretely represented by the young hero-worshiper, Danyers, believes her to have been the Laura

of this Petrarch who has immortalized her in a sonnet cycle. Enshrined in Vincent Rendle's supposed love, her life after his death is paled by all the exclusions of such a distinction. Danvers's genuine and discriminating admiration of the great man enables him to penetrate the moral mausoleum where the woman entrapped by fame is hidden. Their talk at first is all of Rendle. A new book about him is projected. Later Venice holds a young lover, and a middle-aged woman pitifully glad to be loved, but running away at last, and, in the act of flight, lifting a weight of confession from her soul.

"You thought it was because Vincent Rendle loved me that there is so little hope for you. I had had what I wanted to the full, wasn't that what you said? It is just when a man begins to think he understands a woman that he may be sure he doesn't! It is because Vincent Rendle *didn't love me* that there is no hope for you. I never had what I wanted, and never, never, never, will I stoop to wanting anything else."

She writes of the years when she hoped against hope, then of the doubt and despair that settled upon her—doubt of her powers; despair lest she should be that anomaly of nature—an unlovable woman.

"Was I so ugly, so essentially unlovable that though a man might cherish me as his mind's comrade, he could not care for me as a woman? . . . I wanted you to like me; it was not a mere psychological experiment. And yet in a sense it was that, too—I must be honest, I had to have an answer to that question; it was a ghost that had to be laid."

In this characteristic story of Mrs. Wharton's, it is not only the Muse's tragedy that is presented, but a clear sketch of a certain type of a man of genius; childish, monstrously selfish, full of contradictions, incapable of love, but not of passion, achromatizing all lives that his own hues may be the more resplendent and throughout unconscious of egotism.

In "The Recovery" another type of a genius is shown, but the central character of the story is his clear-sighted, sensitive wife, who has discovered his artistic limitations, long before he himself awakens to them, in the accusing presence of the Old Masters.

"She had always imagined that the true artist must regard himself as the imperfect vehicle of the cosmic emotion—that beneath every difficulty overcome a new one lurked, the vision widening as the scope enlarged. To be initiated into these creative struggles, to shed on the toiler's path the consolatory ray of faith and encouragement, had seemed the chief privilege of her marriage. But there is something supererogatory in believing in a man obviously disposed to perform that service for himself; and Claudia's ardor gradually spent itself against the dense surface of her husband's complacency."

Mrs. Wharton's delightful understanding of certain provincial foibles underlies the delicate satire of this tale.

"To the visiting stranger Hillbridge's first question was, 'Have you seen Keniston's things?' Keniston took precedence of the colonial State House, the Gilbert Stuart Washington and the Ethnological Museum; nay, he ran neck and neck with the President of the University, a pre-historic relic who had known Emerson, and who was still sent about the country in cotton-wool to open educational institutions with a toothless oration on Brook Farm."

The stranger psychology of humanity has for Mrs. Wharton the fascination it possessed for Hawthorne. A mystic element underlies the realism of "The Angel at the Grave" with its faint, echoing pathos like chance footsteps in a deserted house. Mystic also is the theme of "The Moving Finger", a tale of the obscure processes of grief. "The Coward" portrays an unconscious hero, haunted forever by an inexplicable cowardice of his youth. The same remote pathos of "The Angel at the Grave" is in this curious little tale of an obliterated American husband. Mrs. Wharton's close observation and keen understanding of all things American are among her greatest merits. She discerns the child-likeness of the great, exuberant nation under its precocity of thought and feeling, its crude strength, its adoration of success, of "culture", its wistful resentment of the Old World and its standards. Thoroughly American is "The Portrait", in which an eminent painter famed for his insight into the essential character of his sitters is called upon to paint the portrait of a noted "boss",

Alonzo Vard, whose villainies are public property. Vard has an innocent and adoring daughter who idealizes him, knowing nothing of his history as a public man. The eminent painter for her sake "expurgates" a face whose spirit he has at once read, and what should have been his masterpiece becomes his biggest failure.

An unusual gift possessed by Mrs. Wharton, a lambent masculine humor, is embodied in the "*The Pelican*", one of the best short stories ever written. Nothing could exceed in delicate satirical wit the presentation of the widowed Mrs. Amyot, lecturing "for the baby" on a ridiculous variety of undigested subjects. Like some members of women's clubs she knew less about more things than the ordinary imagination could compass.

"I don't think nature had intended her to be 'intellectual'; but what can a poor thing do, whose husband has died of drink when her baby is hardly six months old, and who finds her coral necklace and her grandfather's edition of the British Dramatists inadequate to the demands of her creditors?"

" . . . the only way of paying her husband's debts and keeping her baby clothed was to be intellectual; and, after some hesitation as to the form her mental activity was to take, it was unanimously decided that she was to give lectures"; "if she wanted to lecture on Plato she should—Plato must take his chance with the rest of us."

The climax of this masterpiece occurs when "the baby", grown into a bearded man with a family of his own, makes the appalling discovery that his mother—still lecturing—still claims to be tearing her breast to feed her young. The stormy scene which follows ends with the last plea of the Pelican.

"I sent his wife a seal-skin jacket last Christmas!" she said, with the tears running down her cheeks.

The humorous quality predominates in "*The Rembrandt*" also, but for the most part it only touches here and there in gleams of pure gold, tales of graver import.

Mrs. Wharton's delicate psychology finds fit expression in her epigrammatic style, in her admirable workmanship. Through her workmanship, indeed, she holds her reader. The

plots of her tales, while always coherent, logical and well carried out, are, as a rule, of the simplest, but the clear, thin lines point the way to many enchantments of style, the reserve of a noble prose, combined with epigram brilliant yet organic. The clever things she says flower out of the story—are the story. So true is this that it is difficult to do her justice in quotation.

Her sensitiveness to the souls of words is unerring. Going back to their essential meaning, she re-creates them and leads them into fertile marriages, fully aware that not the uncommon words lend vividness to a style, but common words in unusual vital combination.

Her similes are vivid and true. Behind the door of a closed room in an Italian villa "the cold lurked like a knife". "A girl's motives in marrying are like a passport—apt to get mislaid." "In this interpretative light Mrs. Grancy acquired the charm which makes some women's faces like a book of which the last page is never turned."

It is just possible that in Mrs. Wharton's pre-occupation with words, with delicacies and beauties of style may be found one reason why her tales are pictures rather than warm human life itself. "The Duchess at Prayer" is like an unforgettable fresco on the wall of an Italian villa, bringing into the present the sinister tragedy of a highly-colored past where both pain and joy are accumulated beyond modern experience. Yet this vivid tale, full of picturesque phrases, of dramatic simile, is still a fresco. The passion is pictured not real. Mrs. Wharton is perhaps too scholarly, too aloof, for strong dramatic feeling, but of the enchantments of the intellect she is mistress.

Into this story a certain quality enters which is found more or less throughout Mrs. Wharton's work, and in a high degree in "The Valley of Decision"—a fine and rare moral detachment from what she portrays. She has the natural talent of producing fiction as free from subjective comment as a chronicle. For a woman she is wonderfully impersonal, and in this consists her essential refreshment to many minds. She presents the moral problem, but does not unduly meddle with it. She tells the story of the sin, but does not judge. A delicate

indifference pervades her work, the indifference of one always aware that the margin of mystery in the Universe may in the course of ages disprove not only accepted creeds but accepted moralities. This most modern of all forms of reverence is invaluable to her as an artist.

The grave and beautiful "Valley of Decision", like "The Duchess at Prayer", is a fresco which leaves the onlooker admiring—and calm. Of dramatic life it has little; of erudition, of scholarly beauty, much. Like "Marius the Epicurean" and "John Inglesant", novels of the elect, it charms by its reserve, its stateliness, its high distinction. Through it moves slowly the aloof and somewhat melancholy figure of the young noble, Odo Valsecca—a kind of proto-martyr of Italian liberty—his book of thought too freely admarginated for uncomplicated guidance. Out of vision he passes at last, shadowy in a grey dawn.

This longest work of Mrs. Wharton's will probably take a permanent place in literature, though it lacks certain qualities which make a novel live. Its value is in its scholarship, its polished beauty of style. And in the last analysis it is for her beauty of style—artificial it may be, yet really beautiful—that Mrs. Wharton will always be read. Though her intellect overbalances her heart, in this instance intellectuality has known how to be gracious, to fascinate and hold.

## ATLANTA: THE CENTER OF NEGRO EDUCATION OF THE WORLD

MARTHA GOODE ANDERSON

"Herein lie buried many things which, if read with patience, may show the strange meaning of being black here in the dawning of the twentieth century. This meaning is not without interest to you, gentle reader, for the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line." So writes W. E. Burghardt du Bois in the forethought of his remarkable book, "The Soul of Black Folk".

In respect to the problem of the color-line, progress along industrial lines has so long been considered according to the ideals of Booker T. Washington that the industrial factor seems vastly more important than the educational. Yet President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, referring to the work of the Atlanta University, where 300 negroes are annually entered seeking higher education, has said: "The teachers, preachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, and superior mechanics, the leaders of industry throughout the negro communities of the South, should be trained in superior institutions. If any expect that the negro teachers of the South can be adequately educated in primary or grammar schools, or industrial schools pure and simple, I can only say in reply that that is more than can be done at the North with the white race. The only way to have good primary schools and grammar schools in Massachusetts is to have high and normal schools in which the higher teachers are trained. It must be so throughout the South."

As time advances and customs change the negro has come gradually to find these facilities close at hand. At Atlanta, Ga., are six large institutions for the higher education of the negro, making this Southern city the center of negro education of the world. Twenty-one hundred men and women, boys and girls, annually enter these institutions, go-

ing out after a time to spread the learning there received, until there is distinctly recognizable at this time a slow but steady upward movement among the negroes of the South. It is a recognized fact that the negroes of Atlanta as a whole are of a better class in every way than the negroes of other Southern cities. Prof. W. H. Crogman, of Clark University, has said that Booker T. Washington could never have had such a fine school without the Atlanta schools to draw from.

The negro educational institutions of Atlanta were among the first to be established in the South after the Civil War. Atlanta University is now in its 34th year. Its principal work is the training of teachers for negro public schools. In all the institutions in Atlanta, industrial training takes a minor part, though it is taught in all. The standard of the Atlanta University is as high as that of the State University at Athens, and in the departments of sociology and technical training it is higher. An entrance examination is given, which is practically an entrance to a three months trial course, at the end of which time it is determined whether the candidate is able to go on with algebra, and the Latin and English courses. The curriculum embraces a college course of four years, a three years preparatory course, a normal course of four years, and an English high school course of three years. Complete grammar school training is one of the requirements for entrance into the lowest classes.

The university building consists of a group of five brick buildings with a campus of sixty-five acres on a sloping hill to the southwest of the city. The buildings are fairly well equipped. There is a fine library of more than 11,000 volumes, with an endowment of \$6,000 due to the generosity of Mr. Graves of New York. It is completely catalogued, and there are two reading rooms well stocked with leading papers and periodicals.

The girl students live in a building known as the Model Home, in charge of a matron thoroughly capable of guiding them along right lines. The house itself is most attractive in its finish of Georgia pine. The art of home-making is taught, finding expression in the tasteful furniture, well-se-

lected pictures, and in the exquisite neatness of the snow-white beds. There are classes in dress-making, sewing, and household management.

To enable poorer students to work their way through the university, they are offered work as janitors and caring for the grounds, and they are assisted in other ways. There are also contributed funds which admit of aid being given to those most in need of it. But the university teaches that the best help is that which comes from personal effort, and those who are aided are expected to do some extra amount of work about the grounds and also when they become able to return the amount loaned, so that it may aid others.

The cost of running the university amounts to \$50,000 annually. Of this amount the student body pays about \$10,000, and the invested funds and some revenues make an income of about \$5,000. The university is therefore largely dependent on the friendship of interested persons, and the president spends much of his time in getting more funds. The university plant, including the library, physical, chemical, and sociological laboratories with growing equipment, and a large printing office, is valued at \$250,000. There are permanent funds which amount to \$48,000, \$30,000 of this amount being given for scholarships, \$12,000 for general endowments, and the remaining \$6,000 for the library.

There are several distinctive features that make the Atlanta University one of the remarkable educational institutions of the world. The first of these is the work accomplished by its graduates. While the 108 graduates from the college department (including 3 from a theological course) represent only a small portion of the work done by the university, they represent a very important part of that work. Of these 108 graduates, 16 have died. Of the 92 now living, 7 are in religious work, 4 are physicians, 2 are lawyers, 1 is a dentist, 55 are teachers, 1 is in literary work, 12 are in the service of the United States, 5 are in other kinds of business, 2 are married women not otherwise designated, 1 is at present in ill health, and the occupation of 2 is unknown. One of the ministers is pastor of a Congregational church in Chatta-

nooga, Tenn.; one of a Baptist church in Atlanta, 4 of Methodist churches in Newnan, Ga., Topeka, Kan., August, Ga., and Portsmouth, Va.; one is chaplain of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute and dean of its Bible School. One of the above has been presiding elder of the African Episcopal churches in Sierra Leone. Some of these ministers have made addresses in national and international assemblies; one is a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and one has the unique honor of being a member of the Board of Education in a large Southern city for eleven successive years. Eleven of the teachers are principals of public schools and 3 of high schools. Some of the others are designated as follows: professor of Latin and Greek in Clark University, Atlanta; teacher of music in Savannah, Ga.; president of the Georgia State Industrial College; principal of the Howard Normal School at Cuthbert, Ga.; professor of Greek in Morris Brown College, Atlanta; vice-principal of State Normal and Industrial College, Prairie View, Texas; vice-president of Langston University, Langston, Okla.; principal of Knox Institute, Athens, Ga.; superintendent of the Industrial Department in Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.; president of Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo.; president of the Florida Baptist College, Jacksonville, Fla.; professor of pedagogy in Atlanta University; professor of natural science in the State Normal School in Frankfort, Ky.; principal of the Georgia Normal and Industrial Institute, Greensboro, Ga.; principal of Walker Institute, Augusta, Ga.; professor of Latin and Greek in Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; superintendent of the mechanical department in Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

The four physicians, who are located in Denver, Colo., St. Joseph, Mo., Savannah, Ga., and Atlanta, stood among the first in their classes in the medical schools they attended.

The two lawyers practise in Boston, and in Augusta, Ga., and one is a master in chancery by appointment of the governor of his state.

The one dentist is in Atlanta, and has an extensive practise.

The peculiar conditions existing in the South have prevented these graduates from becoming prominent in political affairs; but one of them has been a member of three successive National Republican Conventions, and another has represented his country in the Georgia legislature, while one has served two terms in the Texas legislature, being elected by the aid of votes of Southern white men in a predominantly white community.

A second distinctive feature of the Atlanta University is the presence there of Professor W. E. Burghardt du Bois, who has charge of the Department of Information and Sociology. Professor du Bois disagrees absolutely with the plans of Booker T. Washington. While he recognizes the importance and necessity of industrial education for the negroes, he insists upon educational enlightenment as the path that will lead to the best results for the negro, giving him that chance which may help him to take his place in quiet dignity side by side with another race. He is poetical, impassioned and fiery, and his writings are having a wide influence upon both black folk and white folk.

In connection with the investigation of the negro educational institutions at Atlanta, an effort was made to learn whether the movement toward educational enlightenment originated with the negroes—genuine blacks—and has received any considerable stimulus from the blacks, and whether the results have justified a belief that the real negro, with no trace of white blood, is capable of a high degree of culture and civilization. In every instance the answer was: "The demand for enlightenment is from the negro as a race, unbiased, uninfluenced by any strain whatever."

Other distinctive features of the Atlanta University are the Department of Sociological Research, in charge of Burghardt du Bois, and the annual conferences held to discuss the condition of the American negro and to make suggestions for his improvement. The publications of the Southern History Association, of which Dr. J. L. M. Curry was president, and Thomas Nelson Page and Prof. Woodrow Wilson are directors, said in March, 1901: "The very best and most

advanced work on the sociological condition of the negro is being done by Atlanta University, through the courses of study, through its teaching corps, through its publications, and through its stimulus to the negro conference which meets in that city."

Perhaps because so little is really known of the work done by these negro colleges and institutions, there is little appreciation of it by the average citizen of Atlanta. "I would rather have Atlanta famed for almost anything else", said a representative woman. Especially severe is the criticism of the Atlanta University graduates. Does this mean that although she is known as the Empire City of the South, Atlanta has not kept pace with the new order of things, lamenting, as du Bois has it, "the old-time negro with his stately courtesy and unshakable integrity", and refusing to see that the old-time negro is gone, and the new century has brought a new product of this race, which is as different from the old as the old was from the new? Less unkind, however, is the criticism of the graduates of Spelman Seminary, where 600 negro girls are received annually for industrial and educational training. It may be because the industrial feature plays a more important part at Spelman, and that the "educated negro", as he is called in Atlanta, is absolutely at a discount. "Unfit", says the Atlanta man. "Unfit for what?" asked one of the teachers at Spelman, to whom these queries were put. "To be your servants? Certainly, that is the object of our teaching—to undo the selfishness of the white race in holding that the negro is fitted only for servants, hewers of wood, and drawers of water."

As she spoke, a glance from the window of the office building where this conversation was held revealed the forms of colored maidens passing from hall to hall beneath the shading trees. The majority seemed of light color, which be-speaks the white-strain. Again the query was put as to whether the negro with this strain was more capable than the full black. The answer of the conscientious teacher who helps in the training of these colored girls was: "Not color, but environment, is the potent factor. It depends upon from

what source comes the strain". And then to illustrate her belief that there is no difference between the black and the white man's brain as to quality of intellectual development, she told the story of Zeto Howard, the Kongo negro girl, who was brought as a child of five years to the halls of Spelman. "I hold her story as an example of the proof of African ability when given a chance."

Zeto (or Flora, as she is called) was captured in a tribal war in Africa, and was taken to the missionary station where Flora Howard, a graduate from Spelman, was stationed. Flora Howard took the child, then two and a half years old, and just lisping a few words of her native language, and adopted her, teaching her the French language, which is used there for general intercourse. The child proved a quick scholar, readily learning French, and later learning English as easily; and when she was afterward entered at Spelman Seminary by Flora Howard, she soon became one of the most capable students of that institution. She expects to return to Africa as a missionary. "Here is the answer", said Miss Worden, "As far as we have any proof, she is absolutely pure African, thick of skull, black of feature, and outwardly in no way differing from hundreds of other negro children in this country. Given a chance, and the African brain will respond just as certainly to intellectual development as the white".

Besides Zeto, there are three other Kongo girls at Spelman. Two of these show white strain. One is fitting herself to become a physician, the other a missionary.

The history of Spelman Seminary is full of interest, going back to a dismal beginning in the basement of Friendship Baptist church of Atlanta, where it was started with eleven pupils by Miss S. B. Packard and Miss Giles in 1881. Later, it was moved to the old barracks, the nucleus of the present property, and has grown steadily until there is now a collection of nine buildings with good equipment. To the liberality of John D. Rockefeller the school largely owes its growth. It takes its name from Mrs. Rockefeller's mother. The buildings are comfortably furnished; the class-rooms well

provided with maps and charts and reference books; there is a small laboratory with valuable apparatus, the museum contains fine illustrative specimens, and in the Quarles library there are 3,900 catalogued books and all the leading magazines.

The boarders are divided into groups under a hall teacher, who has full care of each member of the group. Expensive dressing is forbidden. Each girl is required to give one hour a day to house work, which is part of the plan to educate girls for home life. Day scholars may enter the Christian Workers' department for four weeks for \$1, the same sum entering them also for the English preparatory departments. All other departments cost \$1.50. Boarders pay at the rate \$9 every four weeks, except in the teachers' and Christian Workers' departments, where the fee is \$5. The nurse training department is free. The Woman's American Baptist Mission Society supports sixteen teachers, and aids in many other ways. Besides the Slater fund, there are endowments amounting to \$18,000. Spelman is better equipped than any college for white girls in Georgia. The Seminary does not undertake the work of the public common schools, but supplements it. The material plant is worth \$350,000, and its support comes almost entirely from the North.

Pleading for better education for Georgia's white boys, an editorial in the Atlanta *Constitution* in 1901 said: "The hills around Atlanta alone are covered with more high-grade opportunities for negroes than the state has provided for all her children". The condition has not materially changed since then. Is this a forecast of the time when the negro may not be the illiterate class of that state, and when the illiterate class shall be the poor white farmer, the very backbone of the state?

In close proximity to the main buildings of Spelman is the Southern Baptist Seminary, the school for negro boys supported by the Southern Board. The young women of Spelman who want to take up college studies join the classes at the Baptist Seminary.

Of the two other negro colleges in the city, Clark Uni-

versity ranks next to Atlanta. The school was founded in 1870 by the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Clark is open to "students of all classes, regardless of sex or color, the sole conditions of admission being a desire to learn, good moral character, and obedience to lawfully constituted authority". As it will be found in every one of the Atlanta institutions that the heads of them have put every advantage and encouragement within reach of the negro who will learn, the same helpful spirit is evident again at Clark, where negro girls can board themselves and have every privilege of the other students, except the dining-hall, for the small sum of \$2.50 per month. Several rooms in Warren Hall are furnished with the necessary furniture for house-keeping and loaned to the poorer students. The regular boarders pay \$9.50 monthly. One hour's work a day for the institution is required of each pupil, all work over that time being paid for at the rate of 5 to 7½ cents an hour. There are five departments, the college, preparatory, normal school, grade school, and manual training. The courses are elective. The buildings are well equipped, well heated, and lighted. Five main buildings compose the university plant, and there are five attractive cottages on the campus for the use of teachers. As yet the library is not so well stocked as those of the other universities, there being only a small nucleus of 1,000 volumes. Especially fine is the manual training department, where instruction is given in agriculture, iron working, printing, shoemaking, and wood-working.

On the same campus with Clark University, so that the two colleges make a community within themselves, are the fifteen buildings of Gammon Theological Seminary. Its course of study is broad; its work is thorough, its methods are fresh, systematic, clear, and simple.

These and other institutions, finely endowed, finely equipped, and finely conducted, make Atlanta the center of negro education for the world.

## SHALL THE CITY GOVERNMENT BE KEPT CLEAN?

The present municipal campaign in this city is remarkable in every way. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for the oldest and most experienced politician to recall a campaign in which there have been more elements of discord and estrangement, more changes upon the very eve of battle, more discontent and dismay on the part of one or the other force, and a greater division of opinion among the rank and file.

It has been difficult from the beginning to draw a straight line of demarkation between the forces of Tammany and the forces of Fusion. Democrats are on both sides, and it is to the credit of the Fusion cause that many of the leading and most respected Democrats in the city have joined in the cause of good government, irrespective of party. Of course Tammany coheres better than any other single element, because the reason for cohesion is always present—spoliation and public plunder. But there have been, from the start, doubts as to the ultimate position of numerous factions outside of Tammany Hall, and either within or without the Republican organization. Most of these factions have finally arrayed themselves with the Fusionists, and this, itself, is a good sign of the success of the cause, because it indicates a widespread confidence in the administration of Mayor Low, and the belief that the city government can be kept clean and efficient only by keeping it out of Tammany's hands.

There have been other elements of uncertainty and of strangeness in the municipal campaign, particularly with regard to the candidates and leaders. The theartic position taken by Mr. Jerome has been entirely abandoned in a mood of noble self-effacement, and he has now come out definitely and enthusiastically for his old companions in arms. The Grout and Fornes episode is one of the most remarkable in municipal or in national politics. It would have been declared impossible, had it been submitted as a problem, for men of their standing, character, and intelligence, to act in the way they have in connection with the nominations. Both have been efficient and public-

spirited officials, and both would have been absolutely certain of re-election on the Fusion ticket; but, in the face of temptation, both proved so avaricious for office that they consented to accept the nomination of Tammany, although they had declared any alliance with Tammany utterly unholy and impossible.

But perhaps the most unaccountable development in the campaign thus far has been the revelation of character, or the want of it, in the Tammany nominee for Mayor, George B. McClellan. Up to a few weeks ago, Mr. McClellan was esteemed a young man of some ability and intelligence, of some foresight, of some tactfulness, of some public spirit, of somewhat lofty ideals, and above all of sterling and unshakable character. He has proved to be the reverse of all this. He has made, or has endorsed when made for him, statements that are absolutely false, and which, after they have been proved false, he has refused to retract. Among such statements are: that 87,000 children are deprived of school facilities in New York city, and that Mr. Cutting gave a dinner to Senator Platt, and otherwise lobbied for the deepening of Buttermilk Channel in New York harbor, upon which, it was alleged, Mr. Cutting owned valuable property. It was bad enough for Mr. McClellan to accept a puppet nomination at the hands of leader Murphy of Tammany Hall; but when he goes to the extent of denying the existence of conditions that every one knows to prevail in this city, and when he makes false statements and refuses to withdraw them when they are shown to be falsehoods, it places him among political tricksters of the lowest and basest class.

Mr. Grout, who is the Controller in the present administration, and who was nominated by the Fusion convention, has injured his own reputation probably as much as, if not more than, young Mr. McClellan has injured his. When Mr. Grout declared in the campaign that elected him Controller that all connection with Tammany was wicked and impossible, and when, for personal ambition, he now permits himself to be nominated by Tammany Hall and eagerly accepts the nomination, he puts upon his reputation a stain that can never be

removed. It was unfortunate for a man of his standing that, in a moment of ambition, he could sink to such a depth.

The attitude of Mr. Low throughout the entire campaign, especially in his controversy with Mr. Grout, has been exactly the reverse of that of the Controller, and has been dignified, clean, and unexceptional. Even in his letter of acceptance, Mr. Low would not withdraw the statement he had made before Mr. Grout had allied himself with Tammany Hall, in which he said that the Controller had made "brilliant contribution to the success of the administration." Mr. Low adds to this statement the following:

I have no wish to change it. No word of mine shall at any time belittle the value to the city of the services of the Controller during his last two years. Tammany Hall, however, permits to no man the opportunity for untrammeled service such as he has heretofore been able to give.

This characterization of Tammany Hall and of the relation that any man, no matter how high his reputation has formerly been, may make with that organization, adequately disposes of Mr. Grout's claim to disinterested public spirit in his action.

The nearer the day of election draws, the clearer becomes the line along which the fighting must be made, and the clearer, also, becomes the issues in that field. In a word, the issue is clean, efficient government in New York city. This, Tammany has never given, and can never give. As the organization is supported by public plunder and "graft", it stands to reason that it would not be as economic, or as clean, or as efficient as the Fusion government, which is organized purely in the interests of the city. It can hardly be imagined, indeed, that any one who has witnessed the spoliation and debauch of the city under Tammany, and who has also witnessed the tremendous improvement in the honesty and efficiency of every department under Fusion administration, could ever again vote for the restoration of Tammany Hall. It is gratifying that all signs point to another victory for cleanliness and good government.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH at Glasgow was evidently a great campaign hit. It is spoken of by the press as an epoch making address. Judging from the aggressive tone of the English press and the unbounded enthusiasm of the people over Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Balfour's addresses, the new movement bids fair to be a political success. This view is strengthened by the manifest weakness of the opposition press. For the most part, the opposition consists in appealing to tradition and asking conundrums, but is singularly lacking in virile, positive, aggressive discussion. Thus far, all signs point to the great popularity of the Chamberlain movement.

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THINGS APPEAR to be getting a little warm in Ohio. In an address at Akron, Mayor Johnson made a personal attack on General Dick, saying that he doesn't pay his debts. General Dick promptly replies by admitting he is sometimes in debt, but that is a private matter; and retorts that Tom Johnson doesn't pay his taxes, and that is a public matter. General Dick appears to be right. Cuyahoga County is now engaged in a law suit to collect \$400,000 back taxes from the Hon. Tom L. Johnson. Mr. Johnson has escaped conviction for the present by getting out an injunction of restraint. Johnson is a rich man, got his money very easily, and is a howling tax reformer, abusing most of the rich men of Ohio for not paying taxes enough. One would think that while playing such a rôle, he would hesitate to become a tax dodger. A man who is rich enough to owe \$400,000 in taxes ought to be ashamed not to pay; but when he doesn't pay, he ought to be still more ashamed of posing before the community as a model of public integrity and a prophet of tax reform.

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IN HIS CAMPAIGN speeches in Ohio Mr. Bryan seems to be devoting a large portion of his time to personal attacks upon Senator Hanna. It is always a sign of weakness in public discussion when personalities have to be substituted for the

discussion of public questions; but Mr. Bryan appears to have assumed that his function is to give his opinion of Mr. Hanna and Mr. Johnson respectively, so, after having denounced Senator Hanna, with all the discrediting adjectives at his command, and they are many, he erects an exceptionally high pedestal for Mr. Johnson, and exclaims:

"I rejoice that we have a man like Tom L. Johnson in this country who is willing to risk his future in the cause of the common people. I pray that his example will rouse up other men who will bare their breasts to the malignancy of the attacks of corporations and do something for their fellow men."

If the case for the people of Ohio is to be decided by comparing the good sense, public spirit, and personal character of Senator Hanna and Tom L. Johnson, the defense may well rest its case and let it go to the jury without argument, but there is more than this involved. The personal characteristics of these two men are really of slight importance, but the doctrines and policy they are representing are of profound importance, not only to the people of Ohio, but to the whole nation. The charge that Mr. Johnson is the embodiment of the spirit of socialism, and that his success is the greatest possible encouragement to the socialistic sentiment, is too obvious to admit of serious dispute. All of Mr. Bryan's abuse of Senator Hanna, and denial that Johnson is a socialist, count for naught in the face of the great fact that Johnson's campaign, as well as his previous political career, is an appeal to the disintegrating and socialistic forces of the community.

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A STRENUOUS EFFORT has been made in certain quarters to create the impression that the increase in the cost of living during the past few years has been relatively much greater than the increase of wages, and that, therefore, the labor classes have not only failed to share commensurately with the capitalists in the recent prosperity, but that they are worse off than they were before.

The National Labor Bureau has made an investigation into the subject and is about to publish the results. In an advanced statement of the coming report, Commissioner Wright

states that this pessimistic view is wholly unfounded. The rise in prices, he says, has been greatly exaggerated, and the extent of the increase of wages underestimated.

The bureau's figures, it is stated, will show that the increased prices has been only about 15 per cent., and that the increase of wages has been fully as much. Col. Wright is quoted as adding: "The condition of the laboring man is better today than ever before in the history of the country." This is what any careful observer would confidently have predicted. The increase of wages has been so general and so frequent during the last few years that it has been impossible not to observe it.

There is one fact in connection with periods of prosperity that is very important though generally overlooked, and that is, besides having the increase of wages, the laborers have abundant employment. Full employment is often more important than increase of wages. With good wages, if a large portion of a given class are out of work, that means unsteady work for nearly all, and the loss by intermittent employment may easily be much greater than a small reduction in steady wages; but during the last few years, the laborers have the advantage of both increase of wages and abundant employment. There has practically been no enforced idleness for several years.

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THE DECISION to restrict the out-put of the Eastern iron furnaces is being made the reason for a new attack upon large corporations. They are charged with curtailing production in order to keep up extortionate prices. If they should continue to produce the maximum, and glut the market and bring stagnation and depression, then they would be charged with creating a panic.

In the present state of the public mind, large corporations can hardly expect to receive popular approval for anything they do. They will be declared wrong if they do, and wrong if they don't. The proper thing for them to do is to shape their policy on sound business principles and let the outcome be an educational force on public opinion.

It is clearly the part of wisdom to keep the out-put of iron products within a reasonable relation to the demand. During the past two years, the influence of the United States Steel Corporation has practically headed off an industrial depression by steadyng the price of iron and steel. Under the influence of boom demand, prices might have gone very much higher. It would have been easy to put iron and steel prices 25 per cent. higher than they were, but this would have had an inflating influence upon production. New concerns would have rushed into existence on borrowed capital based entirely upon the earnings of boom prices. As soon as the climax of demand was passed, and the least decline appeared, these boom concerns would have collapsed and, with the general over-supply, would doubtless have caused disruption in the whole field of iron industry.

By keeping prices down and avoiding this, we have escaped the industrial depression that all other countries are now experiencing, and, if the large corporations can exercise sufficient influence in the general field to adjust the out-put to the probable demand, they will render an important service to the whole nation. The benefits from such an influence upon general industry will more than off-set all the evils of trust development thus far revealed.

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MUCH IS SAID and done in political campaigns to catch the labor vote. The President is charged with this motive in inviting John Mitchell to luncheon and dallying so long with the labor leaders over the Miller case. As a matter of fact, however, efforts to secure the labor vote by placating the labor leaders are seldom successful. Laborers may be union men and stick to their walking delegate in a strike, but in politics they break away from their leaders more completely than any other class in the community. Nothing would break up a union quite so quickly as attempting to make political propaganda within the organization. The moment a labor leader begins to talk politics he is distrusted, and is thought to have sold out. Presidents of labor organizations may promise the votes of their union, but they can never deliver the goods.

In politics, American laborers are faithful citizens. They may vote foolishly, but they vote as they believe; they vote according to their information and judgment. In these matters their opinions are formed by the continual educational processes that operate twelve months in the year. If we want the American laborer to act intelligently and wisely on election day, we must not rely on the influence of labor leaders, but on educational influences the year around. It is because a part of the American press and a large proportion of public men are constantly justifying socialism by their attacks upon institutions, successful business men, and public officials that they create the impression in the minds of the masses that our institutions are dishonest, corrupt, and altogether inimical to the common people. The constant pouring of this sentiment into the public mind creates a public opinion distrustful of our institutions. The working men can not be transferred to this political party or that by the dictum of leaders, but they may be soured against our institutions by the constant pouring out of pessimism through all the channels of public education.

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THE GROWTH of socialism, as well as its nature, is indicated by its literature. There are a great many socialist papers now published in different parts of the country, and the socialist movement may properly be judged by the character of these publications.

One of the socialistic periodicals called *The Appeal to Reason*, is published in Gerard, Kansas. In its issue of October 10, the front page is devoted exclusively to the criticism of the Pope's message to the working men of the world, and printed in large type. Here is a specimen of its reasoning:

"When the priest says that socialism is anti-religious, the Catholic working man says to himself: 'This can not be, for socialism will enable us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and that is just what Christ taught.' When the priest says socialism will destroy the home, the worker says: 'Capitalism is destroying the home, and socialism will protect it, for under the new system there will be no poverty to drive away love,

and there will be no rich man's sons to prey on the daughters of the poor.'"

If working men can be made to believe such stuff as this, what may not be expected of them? Think of the propaganda that seriously tells the people that "socialism will enable us to love our neighbor as ourselves". What miracle will socialism work to effect this? By what occult method will it impregnate the average man with love of neighbor? Then think of the dreamland vagary which promises that "under the new system there will be no poverty to drive away love", and add to this the villainous suggestion that "the rich man's sons prey upon the daughters of the poor"; and this is called an appeal to reason.

To the extent that this stuff can be taken seriously, distrust, envy, and desire for revolution are the necessary results, and such speeches as Mr. Bryan's, and the wholesale attacks upon society, now being indulged in in Ohio, feed fanaticism and stimulate the revolutionary sentiment disseminated through these socialistic publications, which in themselves might be harmless by virtue of their obvious absurdity. The drivel published by such sheets as *The Appeal to Reason* acquires its strength and respectability by the speeches of such men as Bryan and Johnson, and their political movement which appeals to this sentiment as a means of vote-getting.

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NOTHING COULD be a better indication of the soundness of general business conditions throughout the country than the slight effect that has followed the disturbance of the stock market. The fact that there has been no bankruptcies and no shutting down of enterprises—in fact no noticeable effect whatever upon the producing and banking institutions—tends to show that the disturbance in Wall Street and the exceptionally low price of stocks are not the result of business conditions, but rather the climax of a speculative fever. In other words, it was a promoters' and speculators' panic.

There is hardly any other country or scarcely any other time in this country when business would have continued unaffected by such a disturbance of stocks as was recently wit-

nessed in Wall Street. Stocks like the United States steel and others of the very best established properties have fallen out of all proportion to their earning capacity. In the case of the United States steel, it was probably distrust of the organization, but in many of the other cases no such fear existed, and the earning was undisturbed.

Then, why the slump? It was simply the result of the necessity of large liquidation, not merely on the part of large owners, but of an immense multitude of small owners. A great many promoters and speculative jobbers had been carrying large amounts of stock in the hope that the public would buy as an investment, especially such stocks as the United States steel; but the public refused to buy an adequate amount, and, with the inordinate rise of prices and prosperity of the country, a very large number of people all over the country, tens of thousands of them, have been buying on margins. When it became necessary, for purposes of liquidation, for a few of the large holders to sell, as is always the case, the weaker ones became afraid, and sold for fear of losing. With the drop that followed the margins of thousands upon thousands of small speculators were wiped out, and their stock dumped upon the market. This of course increased the downward tendency and, fearing that the expected might happen, buyers among the public have timidly held off. Many of the stocks are selling at this time very much below what they are really worth in a state of normal confidence.

We repeat that all this could occur, and exercise practically no effect on the business of the country, is indisputable evidence of the soundness of the general business conditions.

## QUESTION BOX

### Is Mr. Chamberlain's Ten Per Cent. Tariff Sufficient?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Mr. Chamberlain, in his Glasgow speech, seems to have set his aim upon a protective tariff of ten per cent. This is a more moderate tariff than the German or the French, and certainly is much lower than our own. Is it sufficient to protect England against the competition of her great rivals across the Channel and across the Atlantic; or, is it possible, that Mr. Chamberlain, with his usual adroitness, is using this low figure merely as an entering wedge, and that, after the principle of protection is thoroughly established in the conscience of the British public, he will seek to obtain a tariff sufficiently high to safeguard British industry and British opportunity?

L. S.

Of course Mr. Chamberlain has to go a little slow with the English people in proposing his tariff scheme. He knows, as does every Englishman in public life, that the free trade sentiment almost amounts to a dogma, if not a superstition, with the English people. The proposition for a 25% tariff would make his task very much more difficult, and it might not be necessary. A 10% duty on all agricultural products, or products that compete with imports from the colonies would give the colonies a very definite advantage over their present position. A 10% definite advantage, in many instances, would be more than equal to the cost of transportation. When competition was at all close, this would be helpful. It might not keep out American products, but it often would keep out Russian and Austrian, and in fact, most of the European products.

Mr. Chamberlain has doubtless sufficient confidence in his proposition to believe that the benefits to the colonies of a 10% advantage in the British market would soon be so obvious that, if needs be, the tariff could be raised. The first important thing in the Chamberlain movement is to break down the economic superstition regarding free trade.

The prosperity of the colonies would have many real advantages for Great Britain. In the first place, it would tend to increase the population of the colonies. Take Canada for

example. The population of Canada has been practically stationary for a long time, not because people do not emigrate to Canada, nor because the people of Canada do not have the natural increase; both those things occur. There is a constant stream of immigrants to Canada, and the Canadian people are a very healthy, rugged people, and of full average families. The difficulty with Canada is that just as fast as her workmen get acclimated, and ambitious, they emigrate to the United States, where they get much better wages. She would soon have an increasing home market for her own products, as well as a larger one for British products. It will only be necessary for the effect of the Chamberlain proposition clearly to indicate an advantageous difference to win for it the approval of the British public. Then, if a higher duty be necessary, there would be little difficulty in getting it, for, after all, whatever may be said of the English people, when they see a thing is really for their interest, they make short work of adopting it.

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### English and American Crowds

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—An Englishman, just arrived from the other side, was struck by the marked difference in the appearance of the people in the streets of New York and in the streets of London. He declared that the London crowds that came out to see President Loubet of the French Republic, on his visit to London, were very poorly clothed, many of the men, women, and children were in rags, and there was a general air of under-feeding and destitution. He also declared that on the East Side of New York, in the Bowery, and elsewhere, he found our people well clothed and having a comfortable, contented, well-fed air.

He drew from this the deduction that prosperity goes deeper and wider here than in England, and that the boasted wealth of the British Empire, if it exists at all, is confined to the upper classes, and that the lower strata of society are kept in poverty and helplessness. He was the more astonished to find our masses well clothed and fed, because he had heard so much of the inrush of low-class immigration from Europe, and expected to find everywhere evidences of its effect upon the American people.

Was he not correct in supposing that our prosperity is more widely diffused and goes farther down, and, in other words, is more general than the prosperity of England, which, I think, is confined to the

aristocracy and the well-established manufacturing and commercial classes?

M. D.

It is surprising that the Englishman referred to by our correspondent should be astonished that the people of this country seem more contented, better dressed, and, in fact, altogether better off. That is the simple fact. The real difference in the two countries is that the general well-being, the economical prosperity, of this country more thoroughly permeates society. Permanent mendicancy does not exist here to any such degree that it does in England, and there is much less in England than in any other country of continental Europe. Besides, there is no such large class in this country that is only 24 hours removed from pauperism, as there is in England. Except in times of very high prosperity, that class is very large in England.

The secret of the difference is that the general standard of living of the working people in this country is definitely and unmistakably higher than in England. For that reason, while there are some here that are as poor and dejected as there are there, that class forms a much smaller percentage of the laborers than it does in England; and in our large cities, like New York or Chicago, it is infinitely smaller than in London, Manchester, or Liverpool. In countries like Italy and Russia, the class within 24 hours of want is very, very much larger than it is in England. Indeed, that state becomes more nearly representative of the condition of a great majority of the working people in those countries. Our prosperity not only moves further down through the social strata, but the permanent standard of living that is recognized as being necessary for the public is so much higher, or that it includes very much more than mere food and clothing. Any class in a country, whose normal condition is the possession of bare food and raiment, is on the verge of want, which follows with the least disturbance of their regular employment. But here the general standard involves twice the cost of physical sustenance, and a great deal of industrial depression is required to reduce them to anything like the normal condition of the European laborer.

Every dollar's income above what will furnish mere food and clothing, adds not only to the social welfare, but to good feeling and independence and the air of prosperity. That is why the Englishman referred to saw what he described as "a more comfortable, contented, well-fed air" here than he was accustomed to see in England. The signs that impressed him represent the fact that wages and the purchasing power of a day's work is so much greater here than it is in England, that the amount of income above what will furnish the bare necessities of life amount to a luxury, as compared to what is enjoyed by the English workman; and it is this luxury or greater amount of social independence which gives the American laborer not only a contented, well-fed air, but the air of more personal consequence, more individual independence, more of the bearing of an energetic, forceful citizen. What the Englishman observed was really the difference in the social welfare, and all that that implies, between the laboring classes of England and of this country.

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### The Alleged "Prosperity" of New Zealand

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—At a recent meeting of men interested in social questions, a discussion arose as to the relative prosperity of the people of New Zealand. It was strongly asserted by one of those present that the people of that island province of Great Britain are enjoying greater material prosperity than the people of the United States, and that this was due to the government ownership of railways, etc. As I know that GUNTON'S is opposed to public ownership, I should like to know what the editor thinks of this statement. Is it possible that the people of New Zealand are relatively more prosperous than the people of this country, and is it possible, also, that if they are so prosperous it is due to government ownership? C. W. H.

In the first place, it is not correct to say that the working people of New Zealand enjoy a greater material prosperity than the laborers of this country. There is probably not as large a proportion of the very poor, as it is a comparatively new country. The large cities have not yet developed with their tenement house features, and it should always be remembered

that this slum element in our large cities is not the production of our institutions or conditions at all, but are what our prosperity has attracted to this country from the poorer elements of Europe and Asia. In other words, the very superiority of our conditions is the cause of this element in our population.

Emigration is always toward the points of advantage. We never hear of people emigrating to Russia, or to China, or to Italy; but the trend of emigration is toward the United States, some to England, and some to Canada. But the great bulk of the world's emigrants come to this country.

In our Western states, where large cities have not developed, this very poor element and in fact any poor element is almost entirely unknown. In the Dakotas, Montana, Utah, and Iowa, and in all the small towns throughout the West, a pauper is almost unknown. Some countries have absolutely no poor houses.

If the material welfare of the laborers of New Zealand be greater than in this country, it can not be due to the government ownership of the railways. Both the passenger and freight charges are lower in this country than in New Zealand. According to the latest statistics available, the railroad service in the United States, mile for mile, and ton for ton, is cheaper than in any country in the world, and the testimony is unanimous that it is better. There is no railway passenger service equal to that of the United States for comfort, convenience, and efficiency.

No, the laboring people of New Zealand are not more prosperous, in the sense of getting better wages, and more goods and convenience for a day's work than the laborers of the United States. And there is no element of their prosperity that is due to government ownership of railroads. The railroads in the United States give more for a dollar, and still more for a day's work, than do those of New Zealand.

## BOOK REVIEWS

BUDDHIST INDIA. By T. W. Rhys-Davids, LL.D., Ph.D. Illustrated. (The Story of the Nations.) G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. \$2.25.

In this work, Professor Rhys-Davids has given us by far the most readable and the most valuable book that has yet appeared in English on the Buddhist period of India. Indeed it is hardly possible to conceive of a work of greater interest and value. It is one of the best volumes in the already notable series of the "Story of the Nations", and will probably remain the highest authority on the subject, until the author himself prepares a more comprehensive book.

It is not too much to say that to the uninitiated, and even to scholars of considerable breadth of learning in Hindu history, the book is a revelation. From the outset, Professor Rhys-Davids takes the position that the true situation in India during the Buddhist period, from the rise of Buddhism in the seventh century B. C., down to and overlapping the Christian era, has been entirely misunderstood by Western and even by Eastern students. Everything has been pictured as Brahmin. The author contends that for centuries, within the period he writes of, the Brahmins were not in the ascendant, that even the priests did not have that power which we are accustomed to think of their possessing in the early days of India. For this distinct and inestimable contribution to the history of the subject, Professor Rhys-Davids deserves the gratitude of all liberal thinkers. It is gratifying to be assured by such high authority that for seven or eight centuries at least the priests did not tyrannize over India. It has been generally thought that India was priest-ridden from the time of early Brahminism down to the present day—as badly priest-ridden, indeed, as Egypt. It is pleasant to think that India, the home of philosophy and thought, was also for centuries the secure home of liberal thinking. It is also pleasant to feel that the early Indian communities were very similar to those of the so-called Indo-Germanic or Aryan race in other parts of the world today. Real progress and real enlighten-

ment came, as they generally come, from liberal thinkers. All credit for this has been given by the majority of historians to Brahministic priests who are supposed to have been supreme, even regarded as divine, for thousands of years. It is with a ruthless, but with a magnificent sweep of argument, that Professor Rhys-Davids brushes away this priestly superstition, and restores a glory to the head and heart of ancient India.

In a work of this kind it would be almost impossible to escape some degree of technical treatment, but it is avoided as much as possible, and with remarkable success. The result is a book that can be read with interest and delight by any one, and may be enjoyed as presenting a picture of India that has never been seen before in the historic gallery and one that will never again be absent from it.

One of the chief interests of the book will be found in the chapter devoted to King Asoka, one of the most picturesque, as well as one of the most splendid of monarchs. This king reigned nearly two hundred years before the Christian era, and occupies a unique position in the history and thought of his country. It is remarkable that his famous edicts, comprised under the title of "Dhamma", contain so many moral ideas that are generally credited to the later centuries, and morality that is completely differentiated, or kept apart from religion and superstitious ideas. The word "Dhamma" means, approximately, "good form", and is probably a good equivalent for our idea of moral or ethical conduct as distinguished from religious conduct. It is pleasant to find this ancient king teaching religious toleration and the honoring of all sects. This, in an age when the priest was supposed to be supreme, shows remarkable liberality of thought.

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THE ADJUSTMENT OF WAGES. By W. J. Ashley, Professor of Commerce in the University of Birmingham. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.

This book is wholly unlike Prof. Ashley's previous work, "English Economic History and Theory." That was a treatise on the history of economic theory of the most careful, pains-

taking nature. It was a misfortune to economic science that Prof. Ashley did not continue that work, and bring it down to the present day. It would have been one of the most important contributions to economic literature of the last half century.

The present volume is a series of lectures delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, and has the disadvantage of all books that are made up in this way. It lacks continuity and cohesion, and is not an exhaustive or even satisfactory treatment of the subject, although the lectures are in Mr. Ashley's best style. One might expect from the title, "Adjustment of Wages", that the author was treating philosophically the economic influences and social forces which tend to adjust wages. But such is not even attempted. The lectures are devoted rather to an account of what is actually being done in the different fields of industry between laborers and labor unions as a means of adjusting wages. An account is given of the doings in the British coal fields, and also in the American coal fields. In the latter the anthracite coal strike of last year is described in detail.

In dealing with American labor conditions, Prof. Ashley has a great advantage over most English writers. He was for a time professor in Harvard University, and for a year or two had an opportunity of comparatively close touch with labor conditions here, at least to the extent of getting first hand criticism and the opportunity of personal investigation. The effect of this is clearly shown in these lectures. In Lecture No. 8, which is devoted to the legal position of trade unions, he very properly takes the position that the difference between the United States and Great Britain in the matter of labor organizations, is a difference of degree, not of kind. And that the whole industrial institutions of the two countries are similar in nature. On this point he says:

But between Great Britain and the United States the resemblance is peculiarly close, as may be illustrated by the fact that exactly what some English observers are saying just now of America, French observers, until recently, and some of them even now, have been saying of England. Both English observers of America and French observers

of England are holding up the individual enterprise, the self-reliance, the energy and vigor of the observed country as examples of their own.

The differences of degree are not inconsiderable. The spirit of independence, readiness to look after one's own interests, readiness also to let other people take care of themselves, are apparently more widely different in America than in England. The greater opportunity for individual advancement so often to be found; the fact that the population of the New World represents that part (or the descendants of that part) of the less comfortable classes in the Old World which had such exceptional enterprise that they tore themselves up from their roots and crossed the Atlantic; the more abundant food enjoyed by the large body of manual laboring class; the drier, brighter and more stimulating climate—all these, and a score of similar influences, have had their effect. And it is obvious that England, for good or for ill, is less completely defeudalized socially than America.

This states the case admirably. Nothing characterizes the difference between England and the United States quite so much as the defeudalized social life of American laborers. In this country the working men have individuality, or they have nothing. That is to say, they are entirely cut loose from any deference to class influence; on the contrary, on the matter of recognizing class superiority, they appear to lean backward for fear of being suspected of leaning forward.

For giving details of the actual dealings with unions in different parts of England and in different industries, these lectures are very valuable. More than half the book, however, consists of appendices giving the full text of wage agreements, etc. For instance, the entire report of the Anthracite Coal Commission is one of the documents. Another is the rules of the British Boards of Conciliation. These are important documents for the purpose of reference and are a real addition to the value of the work. Without this, the book could hardly be said to be more than a casual discussion of the current phases of the labor question.

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PRACTICAL JOURNALISM: A Complete Manual of the Best Newspaper Methods. By Edwin L. Shuman. \$1.25 net. D. Appleton & Company, New York.

This is the day of schools and text-books of journalism, as if the discovery of how to create practical newspaper men

had just been made. Mr. Pulitzer, with several millions gained in conducting a newspaper whose methods have shocked the refined tastes of all Americans, and which have been deprecated by all clean-minded newspaper writers, endows a school of journalism at Columbia. Numerous correspondence schools of journalism are springing up over the country, and text-books and methods are issuing from the press, to meet the supposed demand for instruction and guidance in newspaper work. It must be said, at the outset, that Mr. Shuman's book is the best practical manual of journalism that has yet been issued, and that the mastery of it would be perhaps more beneficial than a course of journalism in Mr. Pulitzer's school.

There is nothing occult about journalism or newspaper work, that schools must be established to teach it and methods devised to promote its mastery. It is learned daily by dozens of young men and young women in the only real school of journalism that the world has yet seen—the office of a good newspaper. Newspaper work is, whether fortunately or unfortunately, one of those things that can be learned only by practise, and a year in such an office as the New York *Sun*, under the elder Dana, or in the *Tribune* office, under Greeley, was better than twenty years spent in any school of journalism that could be established by the genius or wealth of mankind.

Mr. Shuman has in mind newspaper work whenever he speaks of "journalism," and it is unfortunate that he used the latter expression in the title of his book. The journalist has disappeared, and nothing can be done to bring him back. He is born or developed, not made. No method of instruction can produce a Greeley, a Girardin, a Dana, or a Katkof; but good newspaper writers can be produced, and are being produced daily in almost every reporter's room in the large cities of the United States.

A book like Mr. Shuman's is of tremendous assistance to a young reporter, or even to one who has mastered the rudiments of his work. A reading of it would certainly direct his attention to many things that he would otherwise neglect in the sharp competition for news-getting. It would also give

him illustrations of many errors and of much slovenly work that should be carefully avoided. In addition to these benefits, every reporter and every newspaper man should have before him the very fine summary of the Law of Libel and the Law of Copyright, which Mr. Shuman has added to his work. No better and no more succinct statement of these laws has, we think, been made by any other writer.

Mr. Shuman is wrong, we think, in his assertion that papers that pay good salaries want only experts; that they have no time to train raw recruits; and that the morning papers draw most frequently upon the staffs of evening papers for their men. Certainly the best papers in New York city continually take on what Mr. Shuman would call "raw recruits"—young men fresh from the universities, and even fresh from other fields of work, and trust in their own methods to develop them into bright, painstaking, and attractive writers. Mr. Dana was a strong believer in drawing upon the universities for his recruits, and certainly the work done by the reporters of the *New York Sun*, under the magnificent direction of Mr. Dana and under the system he established, was by all odds the best newspaper work that has ever been done in the United States or in the world.

No book published within recent years, that we can recall, has been more admirable in its precepts, or more reprehensible in its practise, than the work before us. This is particularly unfortunate in a work that seeks to guide young writers in the acquisition of "a pure and beautiful diction." It would be interesting, but not sufficiently instructive, to call attention to the words or phrases in this book that would be "blue-penciled" by the "copy" desks of the best New York papers. Such, for instance, are the use of "secure" for obtain, the use of "never," when the simple past tense of the verb is sufficient, and in frequent redundant expressions, faults which Mr. Shuman particularly objurgates. On page 170, Mr. Shuman writes: "Redundant words are obstacles between the reader and the idea to be conveyed. Any word that can be dropped out without altering or obscuring the sense is an error." This is a precept, and a good one. On the opposite

page, 171, is the practise, and a very bad one: "No man can ever learn all there is to know about the words of the magnificent instrument of expression called the English language." The entire phrase, "the magnificent instrument of expression called," is redundant, in bad taste, and should not have escaped the copy readers of the publisher. Another instance occurs on page 173, where the writer says: "No man has used purer English in newspaper work than William Cullen Bryant did *in his day*." We should take it for granted that William Cullen Bryant could use English only in his day, and certainly at no other time.

In his eagerness to skewer some of the peculiarly irritating errors of young writers, Mr. Shuman attacks that abomination known as the "split infinitive;" but he protests too much when he says: "The average man on the street—and some presidents of the United States—use the split infinitive, but no accepted master of elegant English ever does it." This is a particularly loose and limping sentence, with a most lame and impotent conclusion. Not to pause over the bad construction and redundant "it," the phrase "some presidents of the United States" is an exaggeration on the wrong side, for all of them have used the split infinitive. But not only presidents and the average man on the street make use of this horrible locution, it is used by the greatest masters of English prose, such as Macaulay, Addison, Pater, Newman, and Arnold. This does not justify it, of course, but it does no good to expose one's ignorance of English usage by saying that no accepted master of good English uses the split infinitive.

After all is said, however, Mr. Shuman deserves great credit for producing by far the best book on journalism that has yet appeared, and one that will prove of immense value to all young writers, whether they are on the press or beginning a career for magazine and other work.

## CURRENT COMMENT

**Ex-Secretary**

**Long on**

**Mr. Roosevelt** Mr. Roosevelt was an interesting personality as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as, indeed, he is in any capacity. There were several candidates for the place which President McKinley allowed me to fill. In May, 1897, on the retirement of Mr. McAdoo, an excellent official under the previous administration, who had consented to hold over till that time, I selected Mr. Roosevelt, who had had, and indeed has had to this day, a hearty interest in the navy. His activity was characteristic. He was zealous in the work of putting the navy in condition for the apprehended struggle. His ardor sometimes went faster than the President or the department approved.

. . . . . He worked indefatigably, frequently incorporating his views in memoranda, which he would place every morning on my desk. Most of his suggestions had, however, so far as applicable, been already adopted by the various bureaus, the chiefs of which were straining every nerve and leaving nothing not done. When I suggested to him that some future historian reading his memoranda, if they were put on record, would get the impression that the bureaus were inefficient, he accepted the suggestion with the generous good nature which is so marked in him. Indeed, nothing could be pleasanter than our relations. He was heart and soul in his work. His typewriters had no rest. He, too, lacks the rare knack of brevity. He was especially stimulating to the younger officers who gathered about him and made his office as busy as a hive. He was especially helpful in the purchasing of ships and in every line where he could push on the work of preparation for war. Almost as soon, however, as it was declared, he resigned the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy to accept the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Rough Rider regiment in the army. Together with many of his friends, I urged him strenuously to remain in the navy, arguing that he would there make a signal reputation, and that to go into the army would be only to fight mosquitoes on the Florida sands or fret in camp at Chickamauga. How right he was in his prognosis and how wrong we were in ours the result has shown. He took the straight course to fame, to the Governorship of New York and to the Presidency of the United States.

His room in the Navy Department after his decision to enter the army, which preceded for some time his resignation as Assistant Secretary, was an interesting scene. It bubbled over with enthusiasm, and was filled with bright young fellows

from all over the country, college graduates and old associates from the Western ranches, all eager to serve with Roosevelt. The Rough Rider uniform was in evidence; it climbed the steps of the Navy Department; it filled its corridors; guns, uniforms, all sorts of military traps, and piles of papers filled the Assistant Secretary's room, and it was all the very inspiration of young manhood.—*John D. Long, in the Outlook.*

The newspapers have read into these reminiscences a criticism of the President by Mr. Long, basing their interpretation upon the following sentence: "Just before the war, he, as well as some naval officers, was anxious to send a squadron across the ocean to sink the ships and torpedo-boat destroyers of the Spanish fleet, while we were yet at peace with Spain." It seems to us that it ought to be perfectly apparent to the intelligent reader that this sentence means, not that Mr. Roosevelt wished to sink Spanish ships while we were at peace with Spain, but that previous to the actual declaration of war he wished to have a fleet sent across the Atlantic to be in readiness for an attack upon the Spanish naval forces after hostilities were begun in accordance with international law. Those who know Mr. Long and his personal and official relations with his colleagues know that veiled criticism is the last thing the recent head of the navy would indulge in toward either a subordinate or a superior.—*The Outlook.*

**American Victory in Boundary Dispute** The decision, so far as we can learn from official reports, virtually sustains the entire contention of our government; for the exception relating to the Portland Channel is of so little importance that it may almost be overlooked. This exception does not give Canada an outlet to the ocean at the southern extremity of our Alaskan territory; she already had the free and practically undisputed use of one-half of that channel throughout its length, and the decision merely gives her the other half. From that channel northward to a junction with the fixed eastern boundary of the great peninsula, the line which our government has always regarded as clearly established by treaty—and which, until a few years ago, it was never required to defend—has been accepted and confirmed by this decision. At a distance of ten marine leagues from the coast of the mainland, it lies parallel to the "sinuosities" (the old treaty's word) of that coast, and therefore gives Canada no foothold at tide-water on the banks of the great inlet known as Lynn Canal, or along the tributaries of that inlet.

At the head of Lynn Canal, where are situated the new towns

of Skaguay and Dyea, begin the overland routes from the sea to the Canadian Klondike. It was not until the Klondike gold was discovered that the location of our boundary at that point (and southward) was attacked. The *modus vivendi* adopted temporarily by the two governments, and now in force, is distinctly more favorable to Canada than the terms of this decision, which interposes between Canadian territory and tide-water at least thirty miles of land. The line claimed by Canada would have given to her the greater part of Lynn Canal and a wide strip of the mainland southward to Portland Channel. If that line had been confirmed, Skaguay and Dyea, about 20 miles east of it, would have become Canadian ports, and large tracts of gold-bearing land would have been transferred to the Dominion.—*The Independent.*

The settlement of the entire question is most gratifying. It removes from the field of controversy the one serious point of difference that might possibly disturb the harmony of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations. Both countries have reason to be thankful to the commissioners who have with wisdom and tact reached this happy conclusion, and the United States has reason to give its approval and its thanks to the advocates who have so ably defended its rights.—*New York Tribune.*

Lord Alverstone, the representative of Great Britain, has ranged himself on the side of the Americans and decided favorably to the Americans all along the line, save for one little concession, through the grace of which it is hoped to excuse this shameful capitulation. Through the treaty Mr. Chamberlain signed with Mr. Hay, Canada is compelled to accept the decision of the tribunal and to submit to the voice of the majority. In a word, Chamberlain has given it to us in the neck. He was the whole machine.—*The Montreal Canada.*

**Future of  
Negroes in  
America** Dr. Dubois, of Atlanta University is not a man who tends to juggle with figures in the interest of opposition to the negro race, and he tells us in his recent book, "The Souls of Black Folk," that in the Black Belt 10 per cent. of the negroes may be regarded as intelligent, 9 per cent. as hopelessly vicious, and the remainder as more or less shiftless, ignorant, and dependent. What is needed in a society in which 9 per cent. are hopelessly vicious, 81 per cent. shiftless, ignorant, dependent, and only 10 per cent. intelligent? Its first and most pressing need is an education which will teach men so to use their hands and their brains that they can earn a living; an education in industry, economy,

thrift; an education in those primary lessons which most of us "Anglo-Saxons" were taught in our great-great-grandfathers; an education which will impart those virtues which we have inherited from a remote ancestry. Industrial education,—the sort of education for which Dr. Booker T. Washington has been pleading and is pleading today,—is their greatest need, and this therefore is our first duty toward them. But that is not enough. If this African race is to live as a separate race, if it is not to be amalgamated, nor to be subjugated, nor to be exterminated; if it is to live here, ten millions of people, separated by race lines from seventy millions that surround it, then this race must have its own lawyers, its own doctors, its own preachers, its own teachers, its own authors, its own leaders, and this means higher education for the few as well as industrial and primary education for the many.—*Dr. Lyman Abbott, in the Review of Reviews.*

**Acquittal of James H.** How can the community in which such a thing can happen be called a civilized community?

**Tillman** With what face can it call itself civilized? Comparing the case of Sumner and Brooks with that of Gonzales and Tillman, and the result of Brooks's appeal to his constituents with that of Tillman to a jury of his peers, does it not seem that the barbarism has long outlived the institution which Sumner held responsible for it? How else can civilized and sensitive South Carolinians, jealous for the honor and eager for the prosperity of their state, account for the fact that one of the oldest of the states, a commonwealth greatly favored by nature, should be almost the poorest, almost the most illiterate, almost the most backward of all, and almost the least attractive to the immigration either of labor or of capital?—*New York Times.*

**Crime in Europe** Crime in various European states presents interesting conditions of increase or decrease.

In Italy crime has increased from 1,142 cases per 100,000 inhabitants in 1880, to 1,811 in 1899, but it is to be noted that while misdemeanors doubled, felonies only increased thirty-three per cent., and what is more consoling, homicides decreased in the past twenty years nearly one-third. Among the various provinces of Italy, the south and island provinces are those in which homicides and attempts at homicide are most frequent. With reference to other crimes those against persons continually increase, as well as outrages against the state and police. Reviewing the whole matter, then, it may be said that violent crimes are decreasing in Italy, but that

there is an increase of less serious offenses against the authorities as well as an increase in cases of fraud. Crimes of theft and against public morals are practically at a standstill.

In France new laws and new institutions, especially the law of 1891 with reference to the infliction of punishment, have succeeded in diminishing crimes in recent years, especially among habitual and juvenile criminals. In Spain criminality does not increase because of the fact that the very economic depression, the slowness in social progress which saps the life of the Spanish people, operates in respect to good and bad initiative alike. In Austria there is an increase in crime, due to the number of small offenses which, however, show a sad amount of juvenile depravity throughout the empire.

In Germany, the country of splendid pride of life produced by the extraordinary and unexpected industrial and commercial activity, we have on one side a greater number of crimes, a more precocious criminality, a greater amount of fraud, and on the other a diminution in the more serious offenses. In England, where we have trade and commerce in a fully developed state, we find a real diminution of crime, produced chiefly by new penal laws which are based on the doctrines that the positive school seeks to instil into legislators. In Ireland both crimes of violence and those of fraud have decreased, although this may be a relative calm after a long period of struggle and repression. In Scotland we have a decrease in crimes and increase in misdemeanors, that is, we have the characteristics of a rich and a progressive nation with the benefits and disadvantages of present life.—*Translation from Augusto Boaco, in Public Opinion.*

**Current Price Comparisons**

The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Oct. 21, 1902	Sept. 23, 1903	Oct. 21, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)...	\$ 4.00	\$ 4.65	\$ 5.00
Wheat, No. 2 (red) bushel.....	78½	83	86½
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	67½	53½	51½
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	34	41½	42
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	18.75	14.75	13.00
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	21.50	22.00	22.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.).....	5½	5½	5½
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.)..	4 6/10	4 9/10	4 8/10
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	25	21½	21½
Cheese, State f. c., small fancy (lb.)	12½	11 1/2	11 1/2
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	8 7/10	11 4/10	10
Print Cloths (yard).....	3	3 3/8	3 3/8

	Oct. 21, 1902	Sept. 23, 1903	Oct. 21, 1903
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.)	—	5 <sup>65</sup> <sub>100</sub>	6 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.)	7 <sup>8</sup> <sub>10</sub>	8 <sup>55</sup> <sub>100</sub>	9 <sup>10</sup> <sub>10</sub>
Hides, native steers (lb.)	14 <sup>2</sup> <sub>3</sub>	11 <sup>2</sup> <sub>3</sub>	10 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Leather, hemlock (lb.)	24 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	24	23 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.)	23.00	17.00	16.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, ton 2000 lbs.)	22.00	15.50	14.25
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.)	27.75	26.75	25.75
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.)	12.00	13.75	13.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.)	4.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	4.50	4.50
Tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20)	4.35	4.15	4.15
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.)	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)	1.90	2.00	2.00
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)	7.75	5.80	5.55
Fine silver (per ounce)	—	59 <sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub>	61 <sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub>
Bullion value silver dollar	—	.4215	.4340
Ratio gold to silver	—	1:37.93	1:36.83

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 Oct.	1899 Oct.	1900 Oct.	1901 Oct.	1902 Oct.	1903 Oct.
Wheat, No. 2 red, N.Y. (bush.)	.80 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.78 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.82 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.80 <sup>5</sup> <sub>8</sub>	.79	.84 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.32 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.33	.41 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.58	.61 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.44 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.38 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.42 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.49 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.64 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.70 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.52 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.25	.23 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.22 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.37 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.30	.35 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.51 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.58	.52 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.56	.50 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.56 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.00	11.00	12.00	13.50	13.50	11.50
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	2.00	1.65	1.62	2.12	2.00	2.12
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.19	.15	.21	.15 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.37	.33
Wool, xx, washed, N.Y., (lb.)	.30	.33	.30	.27	—	.32
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.26 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.28 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.29	.24	.27	.30
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	4.00	4.90	5.55	7.10	7.90	6.45
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y., (lb.)	.23	.24	.22 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.22 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.25	.20 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
" Elgin	.22	.23 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.22	.22	.24 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.20 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.20	.22	.21	.23	.25	.28
" " St. Louis (doz.)	.15	.15 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.16 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.18	.18 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.19
Cheese, Sept. col'd, N. Y.	.08 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.10 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.10	.13	.12	.11 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>	.12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub>

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Oct. 1 1898	Oct. 1 1899	Oct. 1 1900	Oct. 1 1901	Oct. 1 1902	Oct. 1 1903
Breadstuffs.....	\$11.759	13.315	14.255	17.146	17.494	16.696
Meats.....	7.628	8.378	9.105	9.517	10.279	8.830
Dairy, garden..	9.021	11.663	12.231	13.164	12.931	12.609
Other foods....	8.812	9.069	9.803	9.190	8.800	9.171
Clothing.....	14.350	15.865	15.980	15.279	15.771	16.816
Metals.....	11.796	18.042	15.574	15.760	18.736	16.366
Miscellaneous...	12.604	14.965	15.666	16.835	16.637	16.890
Total .....	\$75.970	91.297	72.614	96.891	100.648	97.378

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	Sept. 18, 1903.	Oct. 17, 1903.
Average, 60 railway.....	102.99	103.03	87.15	83.32
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	48.73	43.98
" 5 city traction, etc....	137.37	130.45	100.25	106.35

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing Sept. 18 1903	Prices Oct. 17, 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113	112 $\frac{1}{2}$	111 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	118 $\frac{1}{2}$	117 $\frac{1}{2}$
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	133	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	98
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	165
International Paper (pref.).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	—	61
N. Y. Central R. R.....	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	147	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	117 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania R. R.....	170	147	123 $\frac{1}{2}$	119
Reading R. R. (1st pf.).....	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	76
Southern Pacific Ry.....	81	56	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	42 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Rubber.....	—	—	—	92
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	35 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	18	14
" " (pref.) .....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	79	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$
Western Union Tel.....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	82	81 $\frac{1}{2}$

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Oct. 3, 1902	Sept. 11, 1903	Oct. 9, 1903
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 17 9	2 11 4	— —
Copper	52 10 0	57 18 0	52 14 5
Tin, Straits	113 17 6	123 5 0	114 5 0
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14x20) ..	— — —	0 12 0	0 11 7
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.).....	— — —	0 16 6	0 16 3
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	11 1 3	11 11 3	11 8 9
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	0 0 4 $\frac{8}{10}$	— — 4 $\frac{9}{10}$	0 0 4 $\frac{9}{10}$
Petroleum (gallon).....	0 0 5 $\frac{8}{10}$	— — 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 6

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.866; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)



The cheapest market for the time being must necessarily be that in which an industry is already established. No matter how great the resources of raw materials, or how abundant the facilities for converting them into finished products may be in an undeveloped country, in practise it is impossible to utilize them profitably unless artificial aid is extended to overcome the advantages enjoyed by those carrying on industries in olderlands.

Had the free trade theory, that it is the part of wisdom to buy in the cheapest market, been generally accepted, it would have resulted in the arrest of that almost simultaneous universal progress which is one of the most conspicuous features of the closing years of the nineteenth century. Had the advice of Cobden and his adherents been followed by Americans and other peoples the world would have witnessed the singular spectacle of one nation becoming its workshop. Had considerations of the immediate benefit of the consumer prevailed, England must inevitably have maintained her industrial supremacy, for there is no doubt that it would have been impossible for rivals, if the disposition to engage in rivalry could exist under such circumstances, to produce as cheaply as that country.

*—Protection and Progress, by John P. Young.*

# GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

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## SENSE VERSUS SENSATION IN POLITICS

IT IS often said that "blood tells". It is certainly true in this country that character, sense, and education tell in the politics of the nation. There are times when the most patriotic become fearful of the future of the country. Sometimes political opinion swings almost senselessly in the direction of chaos, but it has several times been demonstrated that, if given time enough, the American people can in the main be trusted to take the safe side of all great national questions.

While sensation and class feeling seem to have a threateningly strong hold on public sentiment, there is a very strong vein of real patriotism, genuine love of democratic institutions, and faith in popular government in the people of the United States. Although passion and prejudice may seem to triumph for a time, persistent, straightforward, sensible conduct on public questions, and even criticism of the seemingly popular sentiment, in the long run gets recognition and really creates confidence with the masses in this country.

This was illustrated quite forcibly in the two Bryan campaigns. Seldom has there been a political leader of the sensational type who was for a time more effective with the masses than was William J. Bryan in 1896 and in 1900; but Mr. Bryan staked his political existence on feeding the passions rather than on educating the understanding of the American people. He received the nomination for president as the instantaneous effect of an inflammatory oration arraigning the money classes and banking institutions of the country as the plunderers of the people and the enemies of popular institutions. For a time it really seemed as if this appeal to class prejudice would succeed in putting the national government into the hands of the

"cross and crown" orator. It swept the old-time political managers off their feet, and seized, as with a single grasp, the entire machinery of one great political party. It struck terror into the minds of the conservative interests of the country.

There was only one way to meet this campaign of feeling, and that was by education. For many months it seemed as if a large majority of the people, and almost the entire laboring population, accepted the proclamations of Mr. Bryan on money and other questions as an actual revelation, as a kind of inspired utterance, as a matter to be believed rather than studied, as a creed to be taught rather than a question to be discussed. Finally, however, this was met by a very serious and a very vigorous educational propaganda. Competent writers were employed throughout the country to discuss the money question, the historic and economic effect of free silver, its nature and necessary relation to wages, to prices, to investments, and, ultimately, to the national welfare. This work of education began to tell. Evidence began to appear all over the country that the people wanted to be right; they had no interest in being wrong. They had no bad institutions to overturn, no dynasty to get rid of, no incubus to throw off. All they needed was to understand questions affecting their welfare.

The effect of this educational work upon the public mind, which is ever honest, and needs only information, was such as to turn the tide in time to prevent the government from passing into the hands of Mr. Bryan, and to save the nation from an experiment in economic and fiscal heresy.

The experience of the next four years was so contrary to everything Mr. Bryan had predicted, and was so strongly confirmatory of most that had been said on the other side, that pride of opinion disappeared, and the public mind underwent a complete change on the special subjects upon which it almost accepted as a dogma in 1896. The outcome was that the theory born and propagated mainly of class prejudice almost disappeared, and the prophet of the silver cause is now almost a negligible quantity in the public affairs of the country.

Another illustration of the same kind has just occurred in the election of Ohio. Here again was an instance of a man

who entered public life avowedly to rise to high position by appealing to the passions and class-distrust of the masses. Tom L. Johnson is a man of large wealth and abundant ambition, and he resolved to use his wealth to promote his ambition. He proceeded on the "get-rich-quick" plan in politics and made his appeal for support to the laborers, setting forth that they were being robbed of their rights, cheated of their earnings, and were being reduced from freemen to slaves.

As in the Bryan case, it was at first quite effective, and he succeeded in being elected twice mayor of the city of Cleveland. He used the power that this position gave him to give places to leaders of different socialistic and single tax factions and groups, thus further stimulating the feeling of distrust and class-feeling throughout the ranks of labor. Finally his ambition reached beyond the city of Cleveland. It reached out to the governorship of the state, and from this on to the White House. Having succeeded in Cleveland by sensational methods and constant "playing to the galleries", he assumed that the highest stakes in the state and nation could be won in the same way. He enlisted the services of Mr. Bryan, who stumped the state in much the same fashion that he stumped the country in 1896 and 1900, and he rallied to his cause the leaders of the labor unions and all the socialistic elements in the state and country that money could attract. For a time it looked as if Mr. Johnson would sweep the state. All the elements of distrust and suspicion and disappointment and misfit rallied under his banner, and they were told that all their ills were due to the robbery and oppression of corporations and successful industrial enterprises. Everything that had succeeded was denounced as an enemy of the poor and as the cause of their poverty. Even the farmers were appealed to in the same way and urged to join in the general assault upon existing conditions, on the ground that they were robbed to fill the coffers of the railroads, corporations, and manufacturing industries.

On the other side was the Hon. Marcus A. Hanna. The public career of Mr. Hanna has been almost the opposite of that of Tom L. Johnson. He came prominently into political life as a manager and leader of the political interests of Major

McKinley. Mr. Hanna was then introduced to the public generally by cartoons representing him as a money-bag with an insignificant head, a pugilist's neck, and a mouth like an insatiable maw. But Mr. Hanna turned not aside. He never tried to repay in kind. He made no attempt to placate the feelings of class enmity or the elements of social disruption, but pursued his way steadily, always standing for the progressive, conserving forces of the nation.

When Mr. McKinley was nominated the task of conducting the campaign fell upon Mr. Hanna as chairman of the Republican National Committee. Instead of trying to compete with Mr. Bryan in appealing to morbid sentiment, Mr. Hanna devoted his energies and resources to a political propaganda of education. He believed in the patriotism and political sanity of the American people. He insisted that, if they understood public questions, they could be trusted with the interests and welfare of the nation. Along this line he conducted that memorable campaign, and there never was a period of more active, wholesome education of the popular mind on an important subject in any country than that which took place in the United States during the summer and fall of 1896.

On the death of Senator Sherman, Mr. Hanna was appointed to fill the vacancy as United States senator from Ohio, and, on the assembling of the legislature the following winter, he was a candidate for election to the senate for the unexpired term. The prejudice against him, created by the sensational warfare in the preceding campaign, was carried into the legislature. He had not been in public life long enough to establish himself in the public mind. He was known only as a successful campaign manager, and the result was one of the fiercest contests that has ever been waged for the election of United States senator, and he was elected by only one majority.

But character tells. Senator Hanna has conducted his public life along the same line that he conducted the campaign of popular education. While never indulging in sensational or lending his influence to any scheme of demagogical appeal, he has been conspicuously broad and liberal toward all new questions, whether in economics or political policy. He is

a man who has made a fortune in business, not by speculation and manipulating franchises, as Mr. Johnson has done, but by the successful conduct of an important industry.

In the conduct of that industry, Mr. Hanna has shown a statesmanlike character. While entirely free from socialistic taint, indeed emphatically opposed to all socialistic tendencies, he has been conspicuously friendly to all wholesome labor movements. He is almost unique among the great manufacturers of Ohio in not having had a strike or any serious labor trouble for a quarter of a century. He never indulged in the black list nor in any way antagonized the right of laborers to organize. On the contrary, he has recognized that the laborers have the same right to organization that capital has, and has willingly met them on that ground, so that in all cases of difference there was a common point at which both sides were fully recognized. The result is that Mr. Hanna has had no strikes, but, on the contrary, has always had the co-operation and cordial support and friendship of his workmen. He is conspicuously interested in one of the street railways of Cleveland, and it is said that it is the only railway company that has not had trouble with its workmen. It is not that Senator Hanna flatters the laborers, feeds their vanity, or placates their class sentiment, but he approaches them and their interests with a sense of fairness. His attitude is that of a successful, progressive employer with a statesmanlike capacity to recognize the broad interests of the situation; and, really, there is seldom much difficulty in solving industrial questions when character and capacity are brought to bear.

He has carried this statesmanlike quality into every field of activity. His interest in all the industrial questions are not limited to his own shop. He has been one of the most important, conserving and progressive influences in the National Civic Federation of which he is now president. In that movement, as the leading labor men of the country well know, Mr. Hanna has rendered invaluable service to the industrial peace of the country. He has done more to get the co-operation and recognition of large corporations for organized labor than any other man, or any twenty other men, in the country. His

strong sense, his wide experience, and his characterful influence, have been felt on both sides, and have done much to soften the animosities of the labor leaders toward capital, and to bring large capital to take a reasonable view of organized labor. In this capacity, he has rendered valuable service to both, and more valuable service still to the country. At almost every meeting of the Civic Federation, some active labor leader explains and justifies his change of opinion, which always carries with it a change of heart toward Senator Hanna. This work has been done without ostentation or display, in private meetings and in close conferences of which the public knows nothing. To this work he is quietly giving his time and his money; but, as is true in all such cases, the truth finally will out; the effect of his co-operation and advice and personal influence has come to be known and fully recognized as a wholesome force in the labor conditions of the country.

In his political life as United States senator, Mr. Hanna has carried the same characterful personality. He is not an orator. He has not thrilled the senate with any great speeches, but he has come to be the most powerful factor in that body. His strong character, his good sense, and sound judgment, born of large views and liberal spirit, have won for him the foremost place in the respect of both the senate and the nation.

The Ohio legislature that meets the coming winter will elect a successor to Mr. Hanna in the United States senate. Therefore, in the recent campaign, he was practically a candidate for re-election. Mr. Johnson, boss-like, named Mr. Clarke as a man to succeed Senator Hanna and himself to be elected governor, so that in reality the recent struggle in Ohio was between Johnson and Hanna—Johnson, who during his entire public career has stood for a sensational appeal to passion and class prejudice, and Hanna, who stood for conservative sense, liberal progress, and political education.

These two candidates carried out in the campaign their different policies. Mr. Johnson based his campaign on the lines of personal abuse of Senator Hanna, and abuse of existing institutions, instead of educating the people into an intelligent understanding of the conditions and interests of society.

Mr. Johnson's campaign literature was chiefly directed to poisoning the public mind against the rich, against successful business men, and against all corporations as the enemy and oppressors of the poor. Mr. Hanna's campaign was made pre-eminently a campaign of political and economic education. The literature and most of the speeches, at least those of Mr. Hanna and the more conspicuous speakers, were directed to explaining economic conditions, to giving the voters information that would enable them to understand industrial conditions, and to show that business men can get rich without robbing the laborers, and that, on the contrary, the success and prosperity of business brings with it and, in fact, affords, the only opportunity for the increased welfare of the masses. Instead of pandering to a misinformed sentiment, Mr. Hanna resisted the clamor for class revenge, and appealed to the class patriotism and experience of the people. The outcome, as revealed by the votes on election day, was the greatest political victory that has been recorded in many a year. Senator Hanna, who was in his previous campaign elected by only one majority, will be re-elected by a majority of 93.

Mr. Johnson has wasted his energies. He has lost an opportunity. He tried to climb to position and fame by confusing the popular understanding instead of educating the public mind, by disseminating prejudice instead of knowledge, and he has passed to the realm of political oblivion.

On the other hand, Senator Hanna is the most conspicuous figure today in American politics. He has gradually developed and finally commands the confidence and respect of all classes. The laborers have learned to believe in him, and business men look to him as a great conservative influence in the nation. Mr. Hanna has demonstrated that, besides being more effective, it is better, even at the risk of temporary unpopularity, to be true to conservative, progressive interests.

Today Senator Hanna is the strongest, safest, and most popular candidate for the presidency. No other man in public life during the last few years has grown so much in breadth of view, statesmanlike qualities, and won in so great a degree the genuine approval of the people.

## ARE THE RICH "SOCIALLY ROTTEN"?

TIME WAS when the rich could do no wrong. Even so late as the 80's, Mr. Gladstone said the English laborer loved to vote for a lord; but, with the march of democracy and the insistence that everybody is as good as everybody else, if not a little better, the pendulum of social regard seems to have swung to the other extreme.

The feeling is rapidly growing in this country that the rich can do no right. It has almost come to be a condition of popularity to insist that the wealthy classes, and especially the exceptionally wealthy, are becoming moral degenerates and a social menace to the nation. To refrain from speaking with disrespect and in a disapproving manner of the rich, renders one subject to suspicion. Definite information is no longer necessary for forming an adverse opinion of the wealthy. Their very success is taken as *prima facie* evidence of their badness. To be rich and to be reputable is regarded as almost a contradiction in terms.

In the business world, exceptional success creates the presumption of dishonesty, oppression, unfair dealing, special favors, or any of a dozen economic misdemeanors. This presumption is encouraged by the press because it accords with the popular sentiment, to oppose which is "un-journalistic". This feeling is largely catered to by politicians of nearly all grades, because flattery of the public is the shortest road to political preferment. The trend of public sentiment in this direction is under such strong headway that mere assertions as to the wickedness of the rich, if they are only made in a positive way, are accepted as proof.

Henry Watterson, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, who loves adjectives better than accuracy, has evidently determined to turn this morbid public sentiment to personal advantage. He has prepared a lecture, which he is selling at profitable prices, on the depravity of the 400! He recently delivered this lecture at Pittsburg. After telling his audience

that he had no new startling facts to reveal, he proceeded to characterize society as

That apotheosis of boredom, that incarnation of stupidity and affection, which takes its cue from Leicester Square and the Corinthian Club in London; which emulates the demi-mondaine of Paris; which eddies round the abodes of luxury and alimony at Newport, and thinks no more of running down an ordinary pedestrian in an automobile than you or I would think of brushing away a fly.

They submit to no restraints except those fixed by nature and the surgeon's knife. They have no intellectual perspective except that the longest purse brings down the biggest title; no rule of conduct except to eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow it may be some one else's turn—a code which, I am told, became altogether the rage in Babylon some centuries ago.

They society? Has Caliban grace? Is Tom Thumb manhood? Must the monkey and the swell be accepted as interchangeable types, as alternating measurements, of human breeding and beauty?

Sursum corda! Lift up your hearts! I at least have never wasted many thoughts or nursed any serious fears about such cattle.

This is a wholesale tirade against the well-to-do classes of this country. The "400" means nothing but a group of rich people. Mr. Watterson, like every one who indulges in this sort of undignified denunciation, fails to particularize. If he should do that, the instances would be so insignificantly few as to make him ridiculous.

The inference from his statement is that wealth leads to debauchery, immorality, and social degeneracy; that the crimes and immoralities of society multiply with the increase of wealth, and that moral character, intelligence, refinement, and all that is necessary or desirable for a healthful condition in society, is most lacking in the circles of the well-to-do, and well-nigh absent in the circles of the very wealthy.

This is very much like the assumption among the masses, especially socialists, that all successful capitalists are more or less dishonest. As a matter of fact, the contrary is more nearly true. So far as business is concerned, there never was, among all classes of business men, so large a proportion of honesty, honor, and fair dealing as there is today, and the highest type of business honor and integrity is among the large concerns,

those that do the greatest amount of business and acquire the largest aggregate profits.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the practise of adulterating articles of merchandise, the giving of short weight and scant measure, and other forms of misrepresentation, are found more frequently among the small dealers. A few years ago, a New York paper made an investigation of the retail stores in New York by purchasing a small quantity of sugar, tea, and coffee in several hundred stores, and the purchases made on First Avenue and Avenues "A", "B", and "C", which are the districts of the very small dealers, were nearly all found to be either under weight, or adulterated, or both; while the purchases made on Broadway from the large stores were almost entirely free from adulteration and of full weight. In other words, the business immorality was practically all with the small dealers, and the integrity with the large ones.

There is nothing surprising in this. It is the necessary tendency of large business. The large dealers have a reputation to sustain. Honor, integrity, is a part of their business investment,—they could not afford to be otherwise than honest. The small dealers, who handle small quantities and deal with small people, have little moral investment. They have little reputation. The ethics of business with many of them is to squeeze the maximum out of each individual sale. This is true the world over. It is not peculiar to race, political institutions, climate, or religious belief. Small business men deal with poor people, and poor people are often ignorant, suspicious, treacherous, and, in fact, have, in a larger measure than the prosperous and contented, the small vices of the human race. If it were not so, civilization would be no better than barbarism.

Of course, there are a few specimens of "silly women and simpering Johnnies" among the rich, but they neither represent the rich nor any other class in society. They represent neither the "400" nor the 400,000. But in proportion to their numbers, there are fewer of this kind among the wealthy than in any social group below them.

Of mere imitators, the so-called middle-class has a much larger proportion than has the rich class. It is proverbial

in England that the shopkeeping class make it nearly the struggle of their lives to make sufficient show for "social recognition". In this country it is a conspicuous fact that people of moderate and even small means constantly struggle and sometimes go beyond their means, in order to get into a socially higher set. Nor is this altogether bad. There is nothing immoral in this. If this element could be eliminated from society, a very strong stimulus to progress would be lost.

Higher in the social scale does not mean more immediate culture. It frequently means the wearing of better clothes, more amusements, living on a more respectable street, but this all tends to culture, because it necessarily leads to a greater variety of social experience, which of itself is cultivating. Some of these new experiences are bad, but it is true of all social innovations. Wider and more varied social life always brings both good and bad, but that very experience develops the selective process by which the bad is eliminated and the good is retained. The result of all this—and it is as universal as the human race—is that the higher the scale of social life, the more diversified and complex is the social experience; and this leads to wider knowledge, broader culture, stronger character, and a higher general standard of morality.

It is in the nature of things true that individuals seldom get culture and make great fortunes at the same time. The man who is exceptionally successful in business, seldom has the time or the inclination to take on wide culture. His very success is the result of his concentration in business enterprise, and it may be true, and often is, that he is thereby narrowed or prevented from broadening. For that reason, we seldom see very rich men who have made their own fortune who are at the same time men of broad, diversified culture; but this is not true of their families; it is not true of the social influence that their wealth creates and of the social class to which they belong. A few of them show bad judgment, and give their sons too much money, and some of them prove to be dissipated fools, but the proportion of these is very small. If one-tenth as much attention was devoted to the fools among the middle and working

classes as is devoted to the fool sons of the rich, we should be in danger of believing with Carlyle that the people are "mostly fools". It is true that the culture of the suddenly rich is cruder and narrower than the culture of those who have had generations of wealth and leisure; but, like everything else, culture is relative. The culture of the most cultured classes in the old world is the result of large wealth possessed for generations. Culture is not like a suit of clothes that can be put on or off to suit a passing whim. It is a matter of growth, but it never grows in poverty.

The cheapness of the culture of the very rich in this country, as compared with that of the aristocracy of old countries, is simply the difference between youth and age, a difference of experience. There is a comparative cheapness in the culture, bearing, and manners of the people of the West as compared with those of the East, and for the same reason. The aristocracy, or the old families, of the South and of New England have a refinement quite unlike that of the newly-made rich in New York and Chicago and the West, but that, too, is just a question of age and experience. They have been longer in the making.

The sentiment to which Mr. Watterson is catering, rather glorifies the crudeness of the West. The brusqueness and indifference to the sensitive feelings of others is regarded as an element of virile independence, whereas in reality it is simply the lack of culture and good manners. Mr. Watterson's lecture is itself sufficient evidence of bad manners and of the lack of refinement. A clean, fair, broad-minded person could never pour out to an audience for money such a flood of repulsive adjectives and unsupported accusations regarding any class in the community. Such an effort to commercialize a morbid sentiment smacks more of a trafficker in vice than a teacher of virtue or a leader of social refinement.

While it is true that the rich of the United States are not as refined and have not as broad a culture as the old aristocratic classes of the old world, they are making much more rapid strides toward high, clean, moral culture than the rich of the old world ever did. They are doing more for the culture

of their period, for the benefit of society and for civilization than any similar number of rich people ever did anywhere at any time. While there are few misfits, and the wonder is that there are so few, considering the suddenness with which their wealth has been increased, the bulk of the wealthy people of this country are taking a wholesome, active interest in the welfare and progress of the whole community; not by mere sympathetic talk, giving Christmas presents and sending the doctor to the sick poor, as was long the habit of the aristocracy of Europe, but by contributing to the democratic forces that make for culture and ethical as well as social improvement among the entire people.

They are doing this in two ways. First, they are doing it in that very natural way so aptly characterized by Emerson, saying, "We teach not by lessons, but by going about our business". They are introducing into the domestic and social life all the improvements that art and science can contribute. The multitude of improvements that the rich have introduced in architecture, sanitation, domestic decoration, and appointments have practically revolutionized the average homes in this country, especially in the cities during the last generation. Improvements that are at first too expensive for anybody but the very rich are adopted, and then, by that power of imitation characteristic of progress, they are adopted by others nearest to them in the social scale. By this increased use, it becomes possible to commercialize them and so make them cheap enough to be within the reach of millions. This is true of almost every improvement that has entered into the average home within the last fifty years, such as carpets, furniture, art products, etc. It is only because the rich used them that the desire for them was stimulated in the group below, which made it possible to use cheap machine methods in their production. There is nothing in the line of scientific experiment, of scholarly research, of art production, and of educational preparation and attainment that does not command almost lavish support from this very class which Mr. Watterson portrays as the degenerates of society.

Careful observation of the social life and doings of so-

ciety will show that this wholesale denunciation of the "400" is a morbid fad. Besides not being based on ascertained facts, or sustained by general experience, it is contrary to the very nature and tendency of things. If the wealthy people of this country were one-tenth as bad as the socialists, anarchists, and Wattersons would have the public believe, society would go to pieces. If vice increased with social ascent, the mass at the bottom would be hopelessly bad. Nothing of the kind is true.

Much of this abnormal pessimistic sentiment is due to the prevalent habit of judging all by the poorest specimen. When we do not like a thing, we are apt to imagine that the whole is as bad as its worst part. The Agnostics see a few hypocrites in the church, and insist that Christians are largely dishonest. Because in the labor ranks there are a few corruptionists like Parks, those who are opposed to unions are prone to think all labor leaders dishonest demagogues. There is here and there a dishonest delegate, but to judge the whole labor movement by these would be like judging the twelve apostles by Judas.

The same is true as to the capitalists. There is here and there a mean capitalist who is oppressive, one who would have recourse to the black-list, and the laborers insist that he represents the whole capitalist class. They insist on judging all capitalists by the meanest ones, and are as unjust as are the capitalists who judge the labor movement by a few black-mailing delegates.

It is only by giving eloquent plausibility to this perverted point of view that men like Henry Watterson and Bourke Cochran can commercialize their eloquence and hurl denunciations at the rich as a mass of immorality. Such vicious philippics against a social class are neither in the interest of wholesome criticism nor of moral reform, but are an immoral pandering to a social prejudice and a menacing contribution to perverted public opinion.

## ASIA IN TRANSITION

W. C. JAMESON REID

Author of "The Political and Commercial Future of Asia," etc.

### FIRST ARTICLE.

THE PREDICTION of far-seeing diplomats and close students of Asiatic politics, so often reiterated during the past few years, that for the next quarter of a century, if not longer, China will present the most important and complex political and economic problems with which the great civilized nations of the world will be compelled to grapple, is far less remote than the studied complaisance with which recent events in Asia have been treated would imply. The unmasking of extraordinary Russian political activity in Manchuria, and the general belief in well-informed quarters that Russia is playing fast and loose with the great powers forming the International Convention, while having no immediate significance, in so far as the actual fructification of Russian aims and purposes are concerned, are potently significant when a needful and cautious eye is given to the future.

To those who have followed closely the trend of Asiatic politics, the fact can not be ignored that Russian policy, which is day by day more boldly unmasking, upraises new and portentous consideration which it would be impolitic to underrate and futile to ignore. By implication, as has been shown by her every action in recent Asiatic affairs, if not by open declaration, Russia has announced to the world her determination to ride by hook or by crook to the premier position of arbitrator and controller of the destinies of Asia. Such is the menacing and disquieting condition which rises to baffle the political student who would take an optimistic view of the political and economic future of Asia. Where will it all end, and what cost the end? It is such questions that are provoking an anxious shaking of heads in more than one foreign office, and the

real answer to which inquiry would be gladly welcomed by those statesmen who understand and realize the full significance of the underlying elements of this volcano of seething unrest in Asia which is liable to outburst with fearful violence at any moment, and who appreciate the disastrous effects upon the world at large which would ensue from such a calamity. Time, in its own way, will work out a solution of the problem, but the gift of omniscience would be welcome in more than one European chancellerie at the present moment. While it is impossible to predict with absolute certainty what the future may bring forth, the unmasking of present Russian activity in China and elsewhere in Asia, and the reprehensible double-game which she has had no scruples in playing in the past to advantage Russian interests solely and exclusively, in a measure provides potent arguments from which it is possible to work out not implausible deductionary calculations.

In order to get a proper mental grasp of the political situation in Asia, it is necessary to understand the specific interests of the respective nations involved. A brief consideration of these interests not only will serve to explain the proximate causes which have contributed to the present condition of political unrest in Asia, but will show the ways and means which must be provided to safeguard properly the future. If, at the outset, we appreciate the fact that the entire present and future disposition of the Asiatic problem hinges on the unceasing struggle between England and Russia for political and commercial supremacy in Asia, we have the whole question in a nutshell. It may seem a far cry from our own interests to those of England and Russia, but it will be the interests of these two nations which will have a determinative influence not only upon the future of China, but the whole of Asia, and upon which will rest, more or less, our own interests. To be sure, while for Asia we can not read China, yet the task of prediction is rendered easier by applying to the continent in general the same conditions as have materialized in China.

We have more than a passing interest in this question of the final solution of the Chinese problem. Politically, we have no interests at stake, but conditions have so shaped themselves

during the last few years that our commercial interests in China and elsewhere in Asia have assumed vast proportions, an advantage which we can not afford to sacrifice without disastrous economic results, by remaining quiescent, or adopting and pursuing a policy of *laissez-aller* when this advantage is menaced. Having swung out as a world-power of the first rank, we can no longer remain isolated in handling questions and important problems of international significance; such a policy of diplomatic insularism not only is retrogressive, but, if persisted in, is bound to be barren in accomplishing any actual or enduring results. The danger is that this paramount consideration will be ignored, and it is well that while we give rival spheres of interest the respect which they deserve, we should not neglect our own interests, which demand the acquisition and protection of all legitimate enterprises wherever they may be acquired and exploited. We have as much right in China as any nation. We are the closest to China of all the great commercial nations, with the exception of Japan; our population in China is next to England's. Our trade with China is large and constantly increasing, and we can not afford, for prudential reasons, to ignore or treat with whimsical disinterestedness these important facts.

I have just spoken of the necessity of understanding the specific interests of the various great powers of the world in China, and before discussing the future significance of Asiatic political and economical conditions, it is desirable that the political situation in the Far East during the last few years should be briefly outlined.

Behind all the recent, and by no means ended, international complications in China, which have occupied, and will continue to occupy, an important place on the world's political stage, there is an undercurrent of perpetually seething unrest, toward which, for some unaccountable reason, the civilized world has shown a disposition to maintain a deep-studied attitude of whimsical disinterestedness. To state these subtler and more secret points of the momentous situation does not render it easier to foresee, or to suggest, any enduring solution. But it may help public opinion, in the light of subsequent events, to

form itself correctly, and, above all, to appreciate the abstract obstacles which have checkmated diplomacy, caused acute dissension among world-powers, and, in fact, had a more potent influence on the ever-changing checker-board of Asiatic politics than has generally been allowed. The Chinese imbroglio, and the so-called Manchurian crisis, it should be first understood, are but individual links forged in the chain to determine the question of supremacy in Asia, not, as many writers have been apt to suggest, the substance entire of the Asiatic Problem considered as a geographical whole. If for the altruistic, though altogether misleading, explanations which the civilized nations of the West have used to explain their various attitudes in China—as spreading civilizing and Christianizing influences, the safeguarding of subjects, and the thousand and one stock virtuisms in the diplomatic catalogue—we substitute the never-ending struggle for political and commercial supremacy in Asia, we will more nearly realize the elementary and actual features of the situation. There are questions in the realm of higher politics, in addition, such as *points d'appuis*, strategical frontiers, ice-free and ice-bound ports, spheres of concession and spheres of influence; and it is well not to forget these facts when referring to the hypocritical protestations of the powers that in what they do, they have only one great interest at stake—the betterment of China. How misleading and fatuous are these shallow claims is patent to any one in the least familiar with Asiatic political conditions. It is too probable—more's the pity—that China will be the next unfortunate victim of the abused name of civilization, the modern diplomatic euphemism for the generally agreed-upon policy of "every one for himself, seize what you can get, and may the devil take the hindmost." And in this struggle for supremacy, although the entire civilized world has had a more or less active finger in the pie, when sifted down to matter of fact and concrete conditions, as I have hitherto inferred, it is, politically at least, of vital concern but to two nations—Great Britain and Russia.

This is not taking undue advantage of those other nations who, with many a fine fret and fuss, seek to induce themselves, and, in addition, the world at large, that in the momentous

questions at stake they must play an important part. I not only speak my own views—after wide travel and residence in China and throughout Asia, and the study of political conditions at close range—but, I feel, reflect the views of those who have most closely followed the trend of Asiatic politics, when I say that there has been, and is at the present time, an erroneous general disposition to look with too serious an eye on the part which Japan may assume—of the “preponderating influence” of her recently-acquired “mailed fist” if injected into the struggle. In fact, there has been right along a studied seriousness of too-too credulous individuals and public-prints to bolster up their clamorous faith in this newly arisen David of the East by erroneous and misleading comparisons, fed on logical pabulum of too uncertain a nature. I would be last to seek to detract from the credit due to Japan for her marvellous assimilation and adaptation of civilized ideals, but the fault of this attempt to accord to Japan too great credit for what she has done is that it permits of the upraising of comparisons and arguments without foundation of fact. No one can gainsay the personal valor and martial willingness of the Japanese, but, unfortunately, the trend of public opinion has been of too broad and unreasoning a latitude. Judging by Western standards, Japan is to all intents and purposes an untried power, an unknown quantity. Her war with China, and the excellent showing made by her soldiers in the recent troubles in that country, while wholly commendable when judged from the standpoint of national valor, yet offers no safe measure of comparison with Western nations. It is this paramount fact which the too eager and exulting champions of Japan have lost sight of in foisting upon her a halo of exaggerated progressive standards, for which by no direct means of comparison there has yet arisen the test provided by opportunity. Leaving aside the question of what she might or might not do to a Western power of her own size and resources, the possibility of Japan infusing herself into the Asiatic situation as an actually serious menace to Russia’s expansive ambitions is not worthy of serious consideration. Backed up and morally and physically strengthened by her alliance with England, Japan will doubtless be able to maintain

the integrity of her own soil against any Russian onslaught, and might even gain some slight success on the mainland in Korea, or other Chinese territory adjacent to her waters; but it would be as idle as fallacious to assume that single-handed she would be a serious barrier to Slavonic schemes for dominance in Asia. Other than England or Russia, Japan naturally is most vitally interested in the future of this, the oldest of the continents, but in so far as taking an actively potent interest, she must suffer abeyance, and only enjoy the sensation of having a finger in the Asiatic pie on sufferance of either of the arch-conspirators who may for the time being accord to her the position of the proverbial fifth-wheel of the coach. I have dilated at this length on Japanese influence in Asiatic affairs not only to correct what seems to me to be a general misapprehension regarding her actual position, but from the fact that this being understood will lead to a more intelligent comprehension of what follows.

Recurring to the Asiatic problem, as a whole, it may be stated at the outset that nearly all the great powers have shown want of decision in the face of Chinese problems of recent years. Russia's ambitions alone have been clearly defined; and in part realized, while England and Japan, on the other hand, have pursued a dilatory and haphazard policy which seems unexplainable in the light of present-day events. Japan has dreamed for a long time of an Asia for the Asiatics—from the Japanese point of view, an Asia for the Japanese. England has enormous ambitions; she wishes to extend her sphere of influence throughout the entire valley of the Yangtse, but the circumstances have been against her; hence British statesmen have been repeatedly shuffling between two positions, undecided as to whether it is best to claim a sphere of influence or to preserve the "open door". Indeed, to any one familiar with Asiatic political conditions, the fact is patent that Russia has enjoyed the advantage over her political and commercial rivals of having, and pursuing, a policy which has been steady, and had certain clearly defined objects in view. Russia has pressed naturally to the south in search of an open sea, which is an absolute necessity to the development of the empire. Politics

or force have been employed, as deemed most advantageous, but the same end has been kept steadily in view, and from her object Russia never has swerved, except to make an advantageous détour. In appearance, and according to all surface evidence, she has never weakened. All the disputes and bickerings between England and Russia have been but moves in the game for mastery in Asia, and disquieting as must be the fact to those who understand the menace attending the further growth of Russian political and commercial dominance in the Far East, it can not be denied that Russia in her repeated diplomatic tilts with England during the last ten years has figured to conspicuous advantage.

How truly this is so may be readily understood by drawing attention to the enormous growth of Russian territorial expansion in Asia during the last decade in contrast with the slight advance made by England in a similar direction within the same space of time. In spite of much protesting and threatening, England has steadily bent to the will of Russia, and has thus, to a great extent, forfeited her prestige. Her reason for this is hard to find, for by this system she loses everything, and can not possibly gain anything.

Russia, on the other hand, has managed to extract profit from everything, and always at the expense of England. Her influence has grown in Asia as steadily as that of England has waned. In Korea, for example, she managed to secure a good foot-hold, and that without coming into open collision with Japan. Having, by the building of the Siberian railroad, made connection with Eastern Asia, she begins to press the advantage, through the Chinese railroad, southward. She has already eighty thousand men in the Amur district, and by the Siberian railroad can in a very short time vastly strengthen her army there. In Manchuria, which, though nominally Chinese, is essentially Russian, her troops are so placed that even without the railroad they can be quickly concentrated. Her position was wonderfully strengthened by the acquisition of Port Arthur and Talienshan, and the completion of that master-stroke was the seizure of Masampo. These moves have all been intended to influence Japan. Quietly and unostenta-

tiously Russia has been laying her plans and preparing her movements so carefully that any English fleet and any Japanese army will have difficulty in ousting her where she has once firmly set her foot.

England has encouraged herself too long in the mistaken idea that some day China would be a valuable ally. By her change of sides and apparent disinclination to grasp firmly the Slavonic nettle, England has steadily lost influence among the Chinese and among other native Asiatic races. Had she been as powerful on land as on sea, there is no doubt that she would ere now have taken a much more active part in Chinese affairs. She herself recognized the fact that she was not in a position to take the offensive, for she would have to deal with others than China. Besides, she is hampered by India, which is the heel of this Achilles, as she is well aware.

Not alone has Russia provided food for alarm for British statesmen, but during recent years a new, though not equally as important a menace, has been upraised by the sudden impetus given to German and French activity. There is no valid reason, however, for English statesmen to give too serious consideration to German ambitions in the Far East. Although Germany has gained a foothold in China, recent developments all go to show that even if not voluntarily so disposed, she will be compelled by the force of circumstances to curb any desire she may have for further territorial aggression in China, or elsewhere in Asia. Germany's interest in what minor concessions she has already taken over has been characterized by lukewarmness, while the repeated opposition to the colonial budget at home leads one to believe that the sentiment of the great mass of the German people is opposed to an active colonial policy in Asia where there must be a risking of the candle in a game not prophesying commensurate advantages to accrue to Teutonic interests. It seems probable, therefore, that German interests in Asia will be similar to those of the United States, inasmuch as the inauguration and pursuance of an active commercial policy will be of more importance than any considerations looking forward toward territorial expansion.

On the other hand France is, and doubtless will continue to be, somewhat of an uncertain element. It is not altogether necessary that she should be considered as a superior political factor in the development of Asia, as it is very probable that her territorial growth in the East will not exceed its present limitations. Should her intense Anglophobist tendencies lead her more openly and demonstratively under the sphere of Russian influence, however, she would inject into the struggle an element antagonistic to England, which the latter nation might find would not be offset by its offensive and defensive alliance with Japan. The position taken by France is of the greatest importance to England, and the tone of the French press shows what that position is. Having established herself firmly in the valley of the Mekong, she has driven in a wedge between the British sphere in China and Burma, so that England finds herself in danger of being caught between Russia on the north and France in the south.

In spite of this considerable Gallic success, however, British statesmen have not lost sight of the fact that Russia is the power whose policies and actions are those most likely to conflict with those of England, and the trend of present political events in Asia all go to show that these fears are justified. In the recent troubles in China, while the attention of the other powers was directed to safeguarding the interests of collective civilization, Russia, although posing as an ardent member of this altruistic concert, did not neglect to avail herself of the opportunity to carry on the work of the conquest and subjugation of Manchuria. Of course, if she is now willing—as she declared previously was her full intention—to release her hold on Manchuria it must be conceded that she is displaying an unselfishness extraordinary in any power, but especially so in Russia. No one, however, who is acquainted with the tortuous and insincere policy that Russia has pursued for years, can place any faith in the expectation of such a result materializing into actuality, if the matter rests in the hands of Russia alone. Had she been sincere in her intentions, she would ere this have lived up to her most solemn diplomatic promises given to the various powers forming the international convention—to evacuate Man-

churia on the restoration of peace and order. This result has long since been attained, but at the present time Russia has in Manchuria an army estimated from 200,000 to 250,000 men, and she is constantly adding to it. She took advantage of the storm in China to do all this, and no intelligent person will for a moment believe that she purposes to surrender these advantages under any consideration, bar compulsion by stronger force.

In view of the current situation in Asia, there is considerable interest and significance in the vigorous policy adopted by Russia in the various important international questions which have arisen during the last few years in China. Fully recognizing the fact that the Boer war in a great measure nullified the possibility of serious opposition from an unaided England, she took advantage of the "happy circumstances" to gain some "happy results". Russia, we are often told, is the peacekeeper of the world, and the Hague conference is witness to her enthusiasm in the cause of international good-will. Yet her love of peace is not inconsistent with a business-like alacrity to profit to herself, without consideration as to whose toes may be trodden on in the operation. It is only necessary to follow the course of Russia's policy in Asia for the last century to see how truly this is so. And it is this insatiable lust of expansion—however the ethics of international fair-dealing may be distorted to subserve her purpose—not only in China, but the whole of Asia in general, which must cause the whole world to view with apprehension the rapid spread of Slavonic dominance in the East.

## THE SEMINOLES OF FLORIDA

LEONORA BECK ELLIS

IN THE peninsula of Florida, the one section of our country in which the red man was never really conquered by the white, there exists today an Indian remnant continuing on this soil through the strength of primal occupation alone, unrecognized in the law of the land, living their own life after their own fashion, yet keeping faithfully to the terms of a tacit peace, imposing no expense upon either state or national government, yet struggling upward by their own unaided efforts to the first plane of civilization and the earliest phase of industrial prosperity.

These Indians, whom we know as the Seminole tribe of Florida, are in reality a remnant of many tribal remnants, affiliated and finally amalgamated by common disaster, the Seminole strain being originally the weakest of all and the Seminole name the last which the proud Floridians of an earlier day would have chosen to wear.

It is worthy of remembrance that when the Spaniard, discoverer or invader, set foot in the peninsula, he found at different points traces of a civilization akin to that of the Incas and the Aztecs, and immeasurably superior to that existing at the time in any other portion of our present territory. And the struggles of these first Floridians to hold for their children the land of their fathers would not have shamed Leonidas or the early Romans.

But, to check the Spaniards, beat back their galleys, slaughter their armored ranks, cost the caziques of the Floridas so dearly that in a little while the fullness of their tribal strength was gone. Their towns, once large and well built, were often wiped suddenly out, again fell into a quick decay, their riches perished, a forced nomadic life drew them towards the same plane of living as the northern peoples formerly despised by them.

Of the Floridians, there were several leading tribes when the old-world explorers first found them, and these differed widely in language, customs, and degrees of advancement. Inimical to one another in times past, they yet drew together against the common foe, and in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries the broken peoples became largely fused. But when, in 1750, the untamed Secoffee led the red outlaws from Georgia and other upper states across the Floridian border, the aboriginal remnant here, cherishing the pure blood they could trace back to the mound-builders, and perhaps through them to the lost Atlantis, turned still unyielding hostile faces to these incoming Creeks, or Muscogees, whom they had always despised for low origin and general inferiority. Now mark the origin of the name in which all the proud names of the earlier days have been lost: the newcomers were called "wild men", "strange men", "aliens", or, in a pleasing Floridian tongue, *Seminoles*. The white man caught the name, a ready one, and in the end applied it alike to the line of the pure-blooded caziques and the mongrels from the north. And Seminoles this remnant will probably remain, however they may emerge and climb from their present lowly state.

Yet several generations had passed before the Floridian Indians in general would strike hands with the strangers or Seminoles. All the red men fought alike against the white, both Spanish and English, in the first Seminole war; but the tribes were in no wise amalgamated until after the "exchange of flags" in 1820, when Spain ceded this territory to a sterner power.

On acquiring the Floridas, East and West, our Government began immediately to treat with the Indians, looking towards their evacuation of all desirable lands; and few of the many treaties entered into at that period reflect credit upon us either in the making or breaking of them. In fact, several chapters in this portion of our history make very unpleasant reading for any honorable American of today.

Few have forgotten how it ended: how new war followed, long and bloody, when Osceola, instead of signing, drove his hunting knife through the memorable treaty of Payne's Land-

ing, whose shameful terms bound the Indians to give up all their possessions in Florida, even to the dark morasses where chiefly they were now existing, and migrate within three years to a section west of the Mississippi, which had been already allotted to the Creeks.

Osceola was a Muscogee, a young brave of the alien blood, formerly scorned by the superior tribes native to the soil. But the remnant of the Miccasoukies, first, and next of other leading Floridian tribes, learning of the Seminole's proud defiance, speedily joined forces with him and his against those who would banish their race from the home of their fathers. Thus it was that the so-called Second Seminole war came about, bringing with it the final and complete fusion of the tribal fragments left in the peninsula.

The struggle went on with varying issue for more than a dozen years, costing the United States forty millions of dollars and countless brave lives, and reducing to the very verge of extinction the Floridian Indians, once so numerous and powerful.

Finally, in 1842, Generals Worth and Harney being then in command against the savages, the Second Seminole war was declared at an end. The Indians had been for many years confined entirely to the Everglades, the "Land of Refuge" in their language; and now that the last warriors fighting openly had been slain or captured, the wild hiding-places gave up certain little bands of wretched women and starveling children, with a few emaciated and panic-stricken men. The military authorities recognized but one method of treating this feeble remnant: they were collected with all possible speed and sent westward, exiled forever, themselves and their descendants, from the sunny land which they had believed the Great Spirit gave them.

The United States Government accepted literally the formal report of the commanding officers, stating that the Seminole war was ended and the tribe removed *in toto* to the Indian Territory; while the general public welcomed with applause the announcement that Florida was henceforth a white man's country.

But did commandant or government or public really be-

lieve that the last Indian had come out from the lairs in the great morass? Whatever was believed, no sign was given, no provision made for any Florida remnant; and henceforth that sparse handful, buried in their jungly fastnesses, became as the dead, so far as concerns any legal existence they might have had.

Almost fifty years later, Helen Hunt Jackson, in her "Century of Dishonor", wrote of this neglected remnant:

"There are a few Seminoles, supposed to number about three hundred, still residing in Florida; being those, or the descendants of those, who refused to accompany the tribe when it removed to the West many years ago. But little is known of their condition or temper."

But in the period since this brief commentary was written we have learned much concerning both the temper and the condition of the fragmentary band whom we shall henceforth call only Seminoles. Regarding their temper, it suffices to say that for sixty years past, so far as concerns hurt or harm to the white man, the Indian in Florida might have been non-existent actually as he has been legally.

Of their other qualities, and also the present conditions of life among them, we must be permitted to treat more at length.

Adventurous traders were the first to break through the silence in which the pitiful remnant had enveloped themselves.

"If there are really any Seminoles surviving in the 'Glades,'" argued the first enterprising spirit, "we should be able to buy and sell among them. They must have peltry, at least, and perhaps rare plumes, or herbs and roots of some value, to exchange for our wampum, ammunition, and firewater."

The trader found them, of course. What fastness inaccessible to him? At first he found them shyer than the wild doe: the white man's face had no meaning among them save as the sign and symbol of disaster. But on the broad plane of barter and sale the two races finally came within hailing distance, and shortly the universal language of trade was passing amicably between the ancient enemies. Commercial relations gradually grew so satisfactory that when in the late '80s Mr.

Kirk Munroe, the novelist, went among the timid people of the 'Glades, and, following him, came other men of broad intelligence and sympathies, they found the 300 Seminoles remarkably well fitted out with certain trappings of civilization. Besides hunting knives, there were guns under every palm-thatched roof, and oftener than otherwise, these were rifles of late and approved patterns. Calico dresses and shirts were as much in evidence as on a Georgia plantation, while gay shawls, flaunting bandanas, tinsel trinkets, and such finery, were as plentiful as wampum. Even the accordion and the organuinette had found their way in the trail of trade, and, laugh though you may, these instruments, sometimes despised by us, deserve no mean place in the count of civilizing factors.

Now the Seminoles had been left for more than a generation absolutely to themselves, thrown upon their unaided resources in the most unfavorable situation imaginable, in a region where a similar band of whites, enfeebled and despoiled by preceding disasters such as theirs, must inevitably have perished. But, instead, this fragment of a sturdy race had wrested from nature the right to live and increase: they had cultivated fields and fruit, accumulated live-stock, and had laid by, as if against the trader's advent, a goodly store of coontie-katke, besides skins, plumes, and furs.

The Land of Refuge, which the Seminole has held against all odds, is in the extreme southern portion of the Florida peninsula. The Everglades consist in the main of a vast level tract of ancient coral rock, mostly covered with fresh water and, in some parts, with earth layers, both detrital and alluvial, of good depth. From this monotonous expanse springs everywhere a coarse, almost impenetrable grass, while here and there these strange prairies are broken by islands producing a dense growth of laurel, myrtle, bay, cypress, and other vegetation that loves a hot, moist clime. Many of these islands are of considerable extent and great fertility, and it is here mainly that the Indians have their fields and their live-stock.

On the north border of the region lie the wide-spread waters of Lake Okeechobee; and from the 'Glades themselves issue several majestic streams draining east and west impar-

tially, into the Atlantic or the Gulf of Mexico. The Caloosahatchee, Miami, and Shark rivers are the best-known and most favorable of these streams, and it is along them and their tributaries, just where they emerge from the Everglades, and also in the fertile region on the southern shores of Lake Okeechobee, that the chief Seminole villages or camps are now found.

Without government bounty or aid of any sort, without even lands that they may call their own, with no school or mission, teacher or priest, through the length and breadth of the 'Glades and the border settlements, these people are still living decently, quietly, and with a fair degree of comfort, utterly unhelped and almost unnoticed by the world outside, yet more than content that this shall be so if only they are not banished from the sunny land they cling to! According to the most authoritative estimates yet made, they have nearly doubled in numbers since the deportation of those who surrendered, and are now reckoned at approximately 400 souls.. They have cleared and cultivated no inconsiderable areas, their orchards and groves yield much fruit, while their live-stock, hogs, and poultry are the envy of the white cow-boys and land-grabbers, who ride among them more and more in latter days, casting covetous eyes on fine cattle and rich fields.

Their chief agricultural products are maize, potatoes, beans, squash, melons, and sugar-cane, and the annual harvests are usually abundant. Thus, with the game which is still plentiful in the 'Glades, and the poultry and dairy products, besides such pleasant fruits as bananas, oranges, plums, figs, grapes and custard apples, all of which grow freely here, either wild or under cultivation, the diet of the Indian is more varied, nutritious, and savory, than that of the "poor whites" on either Southern or New England farms. As a result of the favorable diet and uniform activity of life, combined with good descent, the Seminole Indian is in personal appearance the finest specimen of the American Indian now extant.

Besides some inconsiderable beaded work, a few baskets, and doe-skin moccasins, coontie-katke seems to be the only article of manufacture which the tribe sends to the outside

world; but they have maintained a steady and quite important trade in this product ever since the trading fraternity opened up communications with them. Like the bead-work and moccasins, the coontie-katke, or, more briefly, coontie, is the manufacture of the women of the race, and is made by a rather complicated process from the roots or tubers of the zamia, a plant which some writers have improperly classified as a wild cassava, but which really belongs to the cycads and closely resembles the sago palm. The zamia, better known in Florida as the coontie, is the most valuable food plant indigenous to the region, and springs luxuriantly from among the coral rocks of the 'Glades. For the starch which the squaws manufacture from this plant they receive but three cents a pound from the trader, and that in goods at his own price; but in Key West and other markets, where it is greatly in demand, both for table and laundry purposes, it commands from six to ten cents, according to grade.

Reference has been made to the Seminole villages. Few of these contain more than three or four families, and the dwellings are light structures of poles and palmetto-thatch, floored with split logs or puncheons, usually elevated two feet above the ground. The interior is well carpeted with skins of deer, bear, and panther, and nowadays there are found in all the more prosperous homes canopies of cheese-cloth or even gay calico used as a protection against the mosquitoes and other swarming insects of the region.

The cooking of the women is in some respects excellent. Especially do they know how to get the best possible results from maize or corn, both green and dry, and also from sweet potatoes; while their *sofkee*, a stew made from meat, usually game, with a variety of vegetables, is a savory mess that our huntsmen and other outing chefs try in vain to reproduce.

Marriage is an honorable institution among these Indians, and infidelity seems unknown. Polygamy, though allowed by tradition as well as occasional practise, is very little favored at the present day. The Seminole wife is better cared for, treated more nearly as an equal partner and an object of genuine consideration, than the wife in any other Indian tribe. True,

she yields implicit obedience to her husband, but she is by no means his slave. She shares the labors and hardships of the rude life, but does not have the brunt of them laid on her. Consequently, the women carry their youthful comeliness into the years that appear as old age in most of the inferior races. The husband and wife toil together in preparing ground and planting seed, while upon the children usually devolves the duty of guarding the crops as they mature, and warding off the ravages of birds, raccoons, and their wild kindred. Together also, do the husband and wife usually go to the trader's store nowadays, since the old-time dread of the white man has faded greatly. Sometimes they even make a family trip to Miami, or Fort Myers, going by water in their canoes; but these longer journeys are usually left for the young bucks who are reaching out more and more toward civilization.

The industry of these people astonishes the whites who go among them, having known only Western Indians. That the men should hunt with such assiduity is not surprising, since the spoils of the chase constitute their chief source of revenue, but the unremitting diligence of the women in gathering and preparing their coontie, after doing the family cooking and sewing, the zealous care which the men bestow upon their canoes and sails, building their palm huts, tending their fields and cattle, are indeed unexpected. Dull must be the man who can not read from such signs the possibilities of great development inherent in this race.

The fashioning of canoes may be called the master-craft of the men. Remember that all the settlements are on water-courses, and many of the best fields upon islands; the canoe, therefore, is the cart, the express wagon, and even the automobile of the Seminole family. Huge cypress trunks are laid low, often rafted some distance, and then, with only axe, hatchet and fire, supplemented by admirable energy and skill, transformed into canoes of excellent model and no small grace. The sterns and bows are slightly decked over, thus affording platforms for the men who propel. Sails are generally provided; but paddles are rare except for steering, as the chief means of propulsion is a long, slender push-pole.

Regarding government, it must be admitted that the form of tribal organization among the Seminoles has gradually weakened since the passing of the old chief, Tiger Tail, who was killed by a lightning stroke many years ago in the Cow Creek settlement. There are several petty sachems among them now, and a few medicine men held in high esteem as councillors; but, although nearly two decades have passed since the death of the chief to whom all bowed, none has arisen to take his place. In spite of this, no tribe has ever been governed more strictly by its code of unwritten law. Outrages of this code are not common, and a culprit invariably meets with condign punishment from his fellows.

In consequence of the fact that the present day Seminoles are the survivors of diverse peoples, there is some confusion of tongues among them; but it makes rather for richness of speech than otherwise. They have no written nor even pictured language; and owing to their peculiar history, their traditional records handed down from sire to son, are broken and often inconsistent. Their religious beliefs are not very clear; but that they are far less bound by superstitions than savages in general, and also little inclined towards any outward manifestation of religion, is easily discerned. Some slight traces of the old sun-worship, which the Spaniards found in this peninsula, as in Mexico, are still discoverable. One lingering symbol of fire-worship remains, the fixed habit of carrying away, when they break camp, a half-spent brand from the old fire. The tendency to fatalism is manifestly strong in them. Mr. Munroe relates how a Seminole father showed this in describing the death of his child who had passed away in spite of all efforts to save him.

"Pickaninny gone Big Sleep," said he, in the English he had picked up at the posts. "Me fix um, fix um plenty. No good. Mus' go big sleep when time comes."

Mr. Cleveland, when president of the United States, evinced an interest in this neglected people and a desire to secure to them, as far as might be, their present possessions, making future robbery or banishment impossible. An agent was sent to them in 1887, which was the first public step

towards recognition of their existence. He was empowered only to visit them, ascertain something of their condition, temper, and needs, and make such a census as he found possible.

This agent, Mr. A. M. Wilson, now of Miakka, Fla., rendered to the Department of the Interior a very interesting and valuable report, containing his enumeration of the Indians, whom he estimated at 262 persons. Whereupon another agent was sent, empowered to settle the families upon homesteads, and carrying also in his train a saw-mill, school books, and other civilizing forces. With Yankee expedition he located a reservation near a Seminole settlement, put his mill to turning out lumber, and, before the forest people could believe their eyes, he had a schoolhouse set up, the doors flung wide, and by an overpressing invitation, was attempting to gather in the young scions of the 'Glades. The sudden generosity after an age-long neglect was past the comprehension of the untutored race. Moreover, the old distrust was only sleeping, easy to arouse. There had been no period of friendship to eradicate the deadly venom of ancient conflict and wrong.

The result might have been foreseen. The agent and his workers went peacefully to sleep one night, and awoke next morning to find the neighboring village deserted. The Indians had stolen away in the darkness to their secret hiding-places. The vicinity of a reservation was dangerous ground for free-men, they doubtless thought. Nor could any of their brethren later be induced to come within 25 miles of the schoolhouse. thus ended the abortive effort.

The issue of our one attempt to convert these people into citizens, or, rather, wards of the nation, was undeniably discouraging. But who would pretend that the hasty and ill-digested effort was in any wise commensurate with the Seminole's claims upon us, or the rights that inhere in him, or even his own native worth?

In the period since intervening, two other public matters have arisen that render imperative some immediate action in regard to the Indians, unless we intend to ignore the claims of justice. The first is the closing of the contention which began a quarter of a century ago, between the United States and

Florida, as to the ownership of the Everglades and other swamp lands in the peninsula. Now that the final step is at hand, and the immense tract of 3,000,000 acres is ready to pass in fee simple to the state, the opportune moment has assuredly arrived for making righteous provision for the aboriginal remnant, without entailing loss upon any one.

It is true that pending the certification of the swamp lands, four years ago, certain friends of the Seminoles put in so powerful a plea that some small areas were withdrawn before the patents could be issued, and these were set aside for possible reservations. Yet even this concession falls far short of absolute justice. New lands, often in districts they fear and shun, can not take the place of those little spots on which they have spent so much time and toil, to make homes for their children, and which, out of the state's richness, could be so easily spared to them. These people are asked, you understand, to give up the fields they have reclaimed from a blank wilderness, the groves and orchards they have so laboriously planted and tended, and to start afresh, with nothing, practically, but bare ground of somebody else's choosing, hemmed in after the fashion the Indian hates. To the old men of the tribe, it looks far worse than the start of 60 or 70 years ago.

The other public matter referred to is the pushing of the surveys by the Florida Canal company, to whom a legislative charter of generous terms was recently granted. If the lower canal course now favored by them be finally settled upon, a route which leads through a portion of Lake Okeechobee and the Caloosahatchee river, it will render parts of the Everglade region quite valuable and desirable, and will undoubtedly tend to the dispossession of the Seminoles unless they are speedily secured in their rights to their present homesteads.

Enough injustice has been dealt the Indian on Florida soil. Why not right the ancient wrong as we may, by giving him freely what he has wrested from the wilds, and setting forever at rest, for him and his children, the unspeakable dread which haunts his path, holding him back from mental and moral progress?

## THE DAWN OF NEW JAPAN

YAE KICHI YABE

FIFTY YEARS ago the Japanese feared contact with the Western nations. This was not without reason. Japan, for two thousand years, had never been disturbed from without; and her people, who knew very little of the outside world, except Korea, China, and India, had lived in perfect tranquillity, save for occasional disturbances caused by wars between the feudal clans that contended for supremacy. Once, it is true, Japan was threatened by an invading army of Tatars, but its fleet was shattered by a storm before it reached the Japanese shores. After this the approach of a foreign vessel was regarded with suspicion, and was a thing to be dreaded rather than desired. Strangers, it appeared to the Japanese, could have no reason to visit Japan except with a design to conquer the land.

To the Japanese of half a century ago there was also a reason for refusing to open their ports to Western nations. The Land of the Rising Sun had remained for centuries without outside intercourse; and the people had lived perfectly contented with what they could get from the resources of their own land. They could think of no benefit coming from foreign commerce. The land that they inherited from their ancestors, moreover, was sacred to them. Only the "heaven-descended" Emperor was fit to rule it; and strangers, they thought, could have no object in gaining open ports but to absorb the land gradually under the mask of trading.

Such were the views of even the broadest-minded Japanese when the nations of Europe and America began to knock loudly and determinedly at the portals of exclusivism. It may be easily imagined, therefore, what was the fear and amazement of the Japanese when their islands were approached by the "black ships", and they were asked for an open port. The request was almost simultaneously made by Russia from the

northern, the United States from the southern, and England and Holland from the western side.

At this time Japan was under the feudal government of Tokugawa, who reigned in the name of the Emperor. The government was known as Baku-fu. The head of the Baku-fu was the Shôgun, or general, and resided at Yedo, now called Tôkyô. The government was actually directed from Yedo, while the Emperor, who resided at Kyôto surrounded by his retainers, the Kuge, ruled only nominally. The Baku-fu endeavored for some time to ignore the request for open ports; but it soon became apparent that refusal would be serious. All preparations were made as for an emergency, and the officials discussed means of defense.

The Western nations in the meantime were pressing their demands. An American fleet under Commodore Harris arrived at Uraga Bay, and the Baku-fu received a letter from the American president requesting open ports and commercial intercourse. The letter was translated and circulated among the Daimyô, or heads of clans, to obtain their views. Of three hundred Daimyô, only five expressed an opinion in favor of opening the ports. Commodore Harris was obliged to return without accomplishing his purpose.

In 1854 the United States again sent a fleet, under Commodore Perry, and the pressing demands were again presented to the Baku-fu. The Baku-fu now became well aware that refusal would mean war. But what would have been the result of a war with swords against guns, or with junks against steam vessels? The hopelessness of the event was sufficiently evident when it was apparent that such a war would have involved not only America but the other nations of the West. The Baku-fu, therefore, did only right in complying with the requests. A treaty was entered between the Baku-fu and the American envoy, Townsend Harris. It is known as the Shimoda treaty, and is the first that Japan made with a foreign country.

The Tokugawa government in signing the treaty, however, incurred the indignation of the people. The opening of ports was no doubt the only alternative that the Baku-fu could find

at that time. But this was not the opinion of most of the Japanese. Foreign intercourse, being an unknown thing, was too serious to be settled offhand by the feudal government. The consent of the Daimyô, above all that of the Emperor, must be had. But the Baku-fu failed to obtain this, and the Shôgun, the head of the government, was blamed for all that had been done in regard to the opening. The Tokugawa government, it was said, had shown weakness in yielding so readily to the foreigners; and a new faction, the "Jôi-tô", or "exclusionists", began to appear.

The Daimyô, or nobles, with their clans, began to rise against the Baku-fu. The most powerful of the clans were the Chôshyû, Sasshyû, Tosa, and Mito. They bitterly attacked the Shôgun. It may be remembered that the Lord of Chôshyû suffered defeat in the famous battle of Sekigahara at the hand of Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty. Since then the Chôshyû had never fully accepted the sway of the Shôgun. They longed for vengeance, and the time had now come. The Chôshyû readily found an ally in the Sasshyû and Tosa in the cause against the Baku-fu's open-door policy. The Mito had also a cause of grievance against the Baku-fu. The Lord of Mito was the nearest relative to the Tokugawa house. His son, Keiki, was twenty-two when the 13th Shôgun died without heir. The Shôgun seat was claimed by the Mito. But another candidate appeared from the Kishyû clan, also a near relative to Tokugawa. The Lord of Mito being unpopular in the Baku-fu, his son failed to be nominated, despite the fact that he was older and more promising than his rival. Keifuku, of the Kishyû clan, succeeded to the power, and a bitter demonstration of the Mito followed.

These clans led the "exclusionists" against the Baku-fu. They agitated the populace. The Tokugawa government, they said, had perpetuated a serious offense against the dignity of the land by permitting the "black ships" to enter the ports, and the "blue-eyed, red-bearded strangers" to tread the sacred land that the Japanese inherited from their ancestors. The Rôshi (Rônin), the wandering Samurai, flocked under the standard of Jôi, or "sweeping out of the foreigners".

But no war in Japan could be waged and justified without the Emperor's name. The Chôshyû and Sasshyû pursued the Kuge, the direct retainers of the Emperor, and finally succeeded in influencing the Kyôto court. The Mito and Tosa had also been able to have direct communication with the Kuge. The exclusionists thus won over the loyalists. The bitter struggle that followed is known as the War of Restoration.

The Emperor, by means of it, came to have more direct power in the affairs of state. Edicts were issued from the Kyôto court, one of which condemned the Shôgun's act in opening the ports. In 1863 the re-closing of the ports was ordered by an imperial edict. The Chôshyû at once took for themselves the task of executing it. They had soldiers equipped with a few guns and muskets and began bombarding the foreign vessels in the ports. The Sasshyû joined in the demonstration. They attacked the English vessels, which promptly returned the fire and destroyed the city of Kagoshima, the castle town of Chôshyû. Foreigners in Japan were no longer safe, for they were exposed to attacks by the Rôshi at the slightest offense. The allied fleets soon gathered at Shimo-no-seki and demanded the punishment of the "foreign-haters".

The condition of Japan now became anarchical. The power had gone partly to the Kyôto court and partly remained in the Baku-fu. Orders were issued and countermanded. The Baku-fu endeavored to regain power. The Chôshyû, the old enemy of the Tokugawa, was the chief cause of the Baku-fu's decline. It was the most powerful clan that the Baku-fu had to deal with at that time. It was urgently necessary, therefore, that the Tokugawa government should crush that clan. Preparations for an expedition against the Chôshyû was made. In the meantime the feudal government issued an order to arrest and punish the Rôshi and exclusionists, on the plea that they caused serious trouble to the country by attacking foreigners. Many were the victims of the tyrannical Baku-fu. The exclusionists, as well as patriots and loyalists, and even those who were in direct communication with the Kyôto court, were arrested and imprisoned, and were either put to death by

the Baku-fu or committed hara-kiri. Among these martyrs were Zôzan Sakuma and Shôin Yoshida, whose deaths are still regretted by the Japanese, because they were the greatest men of the Restoration period. The conduct of the exclusionists was no less marked by bloodshed. Lord Ii, the chief "elder" adviser to the Baku-fu, was assassinated by the Mito Rôshi in the streets of Yedo in broad daylight, and his head was carried to the Mito followers to satisfy their vengeance against the Tokugawa. This period is known as the "Era of the martyrdom of the Ansei", or *Ansei no Gigoku*.

"The reign of terror" of the Tokugawa government did not continue long, because it seriously offended the Kyôto court and aroused the indignation of the Kuge and of the Rôshi. The power of the Baku-fu rapidly declined, but one thing yet remained to be attempted. This was the expedition to crush the Chôshyû. The Baku-fu, of course, had still the nominal power for such an act. The expedition was ostensibly to punish the clan, who without sanction from either the Baku-fu or the Kyôto court bombarded foreign vessels. The Kyôto court took a calmer view of the situation and tried to reconcile the Baku-fu and the Chôshyû clan. The Emperor, moreover, conferred with the Shôgun, and advised him that the situation of the country required harmonious work of all the clans for the cause of the nation against the foreigners.

The demand of the foreigners for the punishment of those who had lawlessly attacked them was made more difficult by the request to open the port of Kobe, made simultaneously by England, France, and the United States. The Shôgun was again called to the presence of the Emperor and ordered to close the ports that had been opened by the Baku-fu without the imperial sanction. The Shôgun was thus compelled to abandon his power. His resignation was finally submitted, but was soon withdrawn on the advice of the Baku-fu "elders", who feared that the new Shôgun would be Keiki, of Mito, whose father had had a grievance against them. Previous to this, Keiki had been appointed the chief adviser to the 14th Shôgun by an imperial edict. In 1864 he was called to Osaka castle by the Shôgun, who, in spite of the Emperor's advice,

had attempted to suppress the Chôshyû. The Shôgun died in Osaka castle, and, according to his will, Keiki succeeded to the office.

The 15th Shôgun, Keiki, was not welcomed by the Tokugawa retainers, but he had the support of the Kyôto court. Reconciliation between the Baku-fu and the Emperor was attempted, but the attempt failed because of the Chôshyû's determination to overturn the feudal government.

At this time two questions were settled by the Kyôto court. One was the opening of Kobe, the other was the pardoning of the Chôshyû. The pardon was petitioned for by the Sasshyû, Tosa, and Ichizen clans. The pardoning of the Chôshyû was the signal for the fall of the Baku-fu, for it meant the rise of that clan under the imperial standard. With their allies, Sasshyû and Tosa, the Chôshyû had already been planning to overturn the Tokugawa government and restore the secular rule of the Mikado. The Shôgun Keiki was wise enough to see the inevitable fate of the Baku-fu, and promptly resigned. This memorable event occurred November 14, 1867.

Thus ended the Tokugawa feudal dynasty established by Ieyasu in 1603, after the rule of fifteen Shôgun of the Tokugawa blood. Thus also ended the feudal system in Japan, instituted by Yoritomo in 1184, or 719 years ago, at Kamakura. In other words, the sole legitimate ruler of Japan, the Emperor, had for 682 years reigned nominally. But the sovereignty was at length returned to him, chiefly through the efforts of the "exclusionists".

The Shôgun had voluntarily retired, but this step was practically forced by the hostility of the Chôshyû, Sasshyû, and Mito. The War of Restoration continued, therefore, in spite of the abdication of the Shôgun Keiki.

In the meantime the new government was busy in restoring order; all the affairs now being directed from the Kyôto court. As the Restoration was the work chiefly of the Chôshyû, Sasshyû, and Tosa, the new government was composed principally of the men of these clans. These men were Iwakura, Saigô, Okubo, Gotô, and others. Some of them still survive, and occupy the highest seats in the present govern-

ment. They are the famous "Elder Statesmen". Keiki, the ex-Shôgun, has been given high honors, and is still living.

The new government notified foreign countries that Japan's foreign policy would henceforth be for an "open-door". The change in the ruling power was also announced.

The Emperor Kômei died, and was succeeded by his son, who is the present Emperor. The present era was named "Meiji", or "the reign of enlightenment". The new Emperor at once declared in favor of the open-door policy, and commanded his "patriotic subjects to seek knowledge of the world".

Previous to this, the Chôshyû nobles had sent their youth to study in Europe and America. These young men returned with Western ideas and took in their hands the work of reform. The men who thus assisted in leading Japan to the modern civilization were born and bred in "exclusivism". Marquis Hirobumi Itô, Count Shigenobu Ôkuma, and others, who are now occupying the highest seats in the Japanese government, are men of this sort.

New Japan has dawned. The crisis was safely passed, and the era of Meiji saw 19th century civilization fully introduced, a constitutional government adopted, and treaties ratified with all the nations of the world.

But it is never without shudder that we Japanese reflect how Japan escaped the doom invited by the blind act of the "exclusionists". Japan at that time possessed practically nothing with which to defend her domain against the Western nations. It is almost miraculous that Japan escaped the fate of India and of Egypt.

It appears inexplicable, also, how the triumph of the "exclusionists" led to the fuller opening of the Empire. To the Japanese the explanation is that the very spirit of exclusivism was the pride and patriotism of their countrymen, and that these have made Japan what she is today. And this pride and patriotism we owe to the peculiar feudalism which developed, during its seven centuries, the Samurai virtues, the Bushi-dô—faithfulness and rectitude.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE REALISTIC NOVEL

PAULINE CARRINGTON BOUVE.

IT IS impossible to judge correctly of intellectual, moral, or social conditions without a more or less exhaustive study of the various sources and elements which were the successive features of their evolution. This fact M. Brunetière thoroughly understands, and in the essay with the above title he devotes a portion of his valuable and hitherto unattempted work to a labor of discovery and critical and chronological examination of the processes by which "realism" in literature was developed.

"Some one," he says, "has said of the realists, and I will not undertake to say whether the remark is more witty than it is wise, that 'their qualities, which are great, lost their value on account of not having been used as they should have been; that they had the air of revolutionists, because they affected to admit only one-half of the necessary truths of life; and that they missed being right, at once by a great deal and by very little.' The talented painter, Eugène Fromentin, used these terms, or at least appeared to wish to use them, only in regard to painting. But the meaning of his words outstripped his own thought, and struck much further on than he may have aimed. So apt are they to the art of literature as well as to the art of painting that I would not change a single word, not even a comma, of the six lines that I have quoted. But where Fromentin intended to refer to Gustave Courbet, I will introduce the name of Emile Zola.

"M. Zola quite recently collected in one volume half-a-dozen studies,—on Balzac, on Stendhal, on Flaubert,—at the same time on himself; and presented it to us as a 'history of the realistic novel, as exemplified by those prominent writers who have successfully made use of and modified the formula.' In other words, it is a *bit* of doctrine, as the novels of M. Zola, according to the expression with which he has enriched the language, are a *bit* of the street. And I am immediately obliged

to say that, if the vigorous and mighty brush of M. Zola is quick and capable to paint 'a bit of the street', his pen,—really very hesitating underneath its brutally precise appearance,—is prodigiously unable to establish a 'bit of doctrine'.

"I will give but one example. Somewhere M. Zola was defending himself, with the best will in the world but with less success, you will see, from the charge of vanity and pride. 'I,' he cried,—'I, Zola, proud and eaten up with vanity! I, too convinced of my own inestimable value! *I have too much of the instinct of criticism!!*' Too much of the instinct of criticism!" continues M. Brunetière. "But note that the critical sense is just what he lacks more than anything else. His view is short, his judgments are shaky; he can not correctly estimate shading or measure; and when he wishes to affect impartiality, he is in a sad predicament; it is vain; he never can see but one side of anything. But he does not hesitate to write bravely: 'I have the instinct of criticism,—too much of it to be mistaken.' That is to say, that he boasts and believes himself able to see always with perfect clarity; to reason always perfectly correctly; to judge always perfectly justly; nothing more than this! . . . Would he like to hear the best justification he could ever use? It is that heminges with his conceit a copious dose of *naïveté*. . . . We have not forgotten the day when, criticising with as much injustice as justice a recent poem of Victor Hugo, and becoming wild over a certain verse where the name of Niebuhr was enshrined, he went off demanding loudly of the echoes around about him: 'Niebuhr? Who is Niebuhr? Where does this man get Niebuhr. Bring to me some one who knows Niebuhr!'"

As M. Brunetière implies more than once, it is wrong to blame him for his ignorance; although he took the pains to cultivate it, yet he was born with it. It is natural to him. In some measure it has placed him where he now stands, and he would be foolish to wish himself dispossessed of it. "Even his worst enemy would hardly wish to see him deprived of it."

"'T is his strength, and his joy, and his  
buckler of brass!"

But M. Brunetière qualifies his dispraise of Zola and his work by admitting that such rugged and vigorous ignorance is part of the strength and power of youth. In his essay on Guy de Maupassant, which we shall touch upon presently, the critic remarks that the unidealistic incontinence of rancor, the intolerance which in a great measure revealed still further the harsh realism of the incomparable short-story writer's earlier and less finished tales, was a part of his youth; that he outgrew it in accordance with an almost natural law, and that severe criticism was far from being necessary. M. de Maupassant was scarcely more than twenty years of age when he laid himself open to criticism of the sort. M. Zola was—well, he was much older than twenty, and he continued to show his stupendous lack of idealism, shall we say? Accept it as ignorance for a moment. M. Brunetière says that ignorance, when it is sturdy and healthy, is "part of the strength of youth." It was certainly a part of the strength of the youth of the author of "*Bel Ami*"; but can he say as much for him of the "*Rougon-Macquart*"?

M. Brunetière, however, continues his disquisition on ignorance with an application in a truly ironical vein:

"What better disposition could one have for the purpose of attacking prejudices (this is a word which, as everyone knows, means those ideas which we do not share) than that which has never allowed one to examine the possible facts that they are based on, unless it were, to be sure, a disposition which refuses to admit at all that it is possible for them to have any foundation"?

"Every author of any note and many more of no note at all have set up, not for their own benefit, but for that of the world, nature, which they consider themselves as faithfully representing, new standards of truth, reality, and nature. Not a few of them failed from causes over which they had no control; but the great majority were their own obstructors, in that they refused humbly to seek the truth, discover reality, and study nature, and rather offered what portions of real truth, reality, and nature they could get hold of as sacrifices to their own dominating idea of the three sacred abstractions. Realism

—true realism—they never knew, because they held themselves egotistically above it in that they looked for an imaginary realism that never met face to face; truth they either avoided entirely or exaggerated to abnormal proportions—and then it was no longer truth; nature they studiously crushed, trampled, smote under foot, all the while calling for it with their eyes in the air. The first they ever knew of nature was during the last hour of their lives. Yet there were some, witness the younger Crébillon, for example, who had an insight into the nature of the truth as shown in the ideally naturalistic romance—which was not written at that time, if it ever has been—which was that of a rare critical purity. In the preface of his “*Egarements du Cœur et de l'Esprit*” he says: ‘The novel, so despised of people of intelligence, and often with justice, might be, perhaps, of all classes of literary work that one which could be rendered the most useful, . . . if, instead of filling it full of gloomy and forced situations, of heroes whose characters and whose adventures are always beyond the bounds of probability, its builders would make it . . . a picture of human existence. . . . We should sin no more against reason and decency; sentiment would not be so glaringly lurid; and man would at last see man as he really is; and the reader would be the less thunder-smitten for being all the better taught.’”

M. Brunetière was too good a critic to let an admirable bit of common sense like this escape him. He refers to it more than once in the course of his critical essays. We can almost hear the faint echo of the murmurous blessing that must have fallen from the lips of Pope upon that excellent critic who, it is to be hoped, will in the distant future prove to have been an excelling prophet. So far we can only construe it as a prayer; hopeful, we may fancy we can discover the elements of prophecy. But that is a matter of argument with the answer safely stowed away in the literary treasure-box of futurity.

“The common idea of nature and reality,” says M. Brunetière, “was at first subordinate to the difficulty of execution. But as the generations grew in experience and as the life of

society became more and more complicated, it was this idea in literature that also became complicated and enlarged. And it is this upon which M. Zola, had he wished to write a book which should justify all the promises of his title, should have concentrated all the effort of his demonstration. He would then have mentioned Rousseau in a totally different manner. . . . and have brought to our notice, for example, in '*La Nouvelle Héloïse*,' something absolutely new; that is, that here was the first romance of modern times wherein love was treated as a very serious matter, and as something of great importance to human existence. . . . From that day, the modern novel was in existence. Ordinary life entered into the domain of art, and it was real life, divested of its disguises, more or less ancient, and of those travesties . . . which had hitherto made it feebly ludicrous. . . . Now, if Goethe, if Chateaubriand, if the romanticists who followed them, have not a larger and more important place in the history of the origin of the modern naturalistic novel, it is exactly for the reason that, far from having enlarged the circle which Rousseau opened to the modern novel, they rather contracted it. The world of '*La Nouvelle Héloïse*' is incontestably wider and more diversified than the world of '*Werther*' or still more, the world of '*René*'. The actors live more outside of themselves; they are engaged in more complex, more various, and more numerous relations; they entered more into what was occurring round about them. The misfortune lies, it is true, in the fact that as soon as they open their eyes and begin to notice their environment, Rousseau, who accompanies them, takes the word out of their mouth and commences his dissertations in their names."

To the all-important question: What is the origin of the school of fiction that exists at the present time? Zola answers with admirable aplomb, "Diderot and his contemporaries; they are the sources of modern naturalism!"

"But Diderot was altogether English," replies M. Brunetière. "His science was borrowed from Newton, his philosophy from Bacon, his morals from Shaftesbury. It was from Staneyon that he learned history, and from Chambers that he com-

piled his encyclopedia ; he was a disciple of Sterne and Richardson in his novel-writing, and a faithful imitator of Moore and Lillo in the drama. No other French writer was ever so entirely under English influence as Diderot, not to mention what he absorbed from his Genevese friend Rousseau, from the Germans Grimm and d'Holbach, the Italians Galiani, Riccoboni, Goldoni, and *tutti quanti*. If that man represents 'French tradition', then it was scarcely worth while to treat the romanticists as 'the bastards of foreign literature.'

"In his 'Histoire du Roman Naturaliste', the expressionless author of the 'Rougon-Macquart' denied the existence of an art of composition, for he could not compose. He may refuse as he pleases to recognize the true science of psychology ; he may 'make experiments inside of a man's head' as he likes, or, as he prefers, 'make experiments on a man entire' ; but as he refuses to understand that at times men have heads, so he also refuses to remember that although the modern naturalistic novel may have inherited many things from all of its predecessors in literature, it does not always follow that it has made use of them, or that its expounders have sometimes lost sight of their heritage altogether.

"M. Zola," continues M. Brunetière, "is much like a simple Prudhomme who has crossed one day from Calais to Dover, and who proudly believes that it was of him, Prudhomme, that Fulton must have been thinking when he applied steam to navigation on the Hudson. M. Zola seems to imagine that he is the heir, if not of the ages, at least of such men as Balzac, and that if he has not accepted all that they left behind, it is not because there was any doubt as to his right of inheritance. There is no illusion more common than this, and there is no illusion that is less philosophical. M. Zola, to his great disadvantage, has entirely given himself up to it. And to be able to talk as he wishes, he believes, or affects to believe himself a *term* of an *evolution* of which he, together with his whole school, is no more than what is known as a *moment*, and a very insignificant *moment* at that."

Indeed, from the process of the evolution of the realistic novel, he has inherited no more than from those who are re-

sponsible for its very origin, and whom he affects to despise as entirely disconnected with it. From this overwhelming mistake, which the complaisant author of "La Terre" has fallen into, M. Brunetière draws a few inevitable consequences :

"First: The naturalistic formula has no right to exclude from the domain of art any other formula, not even the formula of the historical novel, and certainly not that of the idealistic novel.

"Second: The naturalistic romance will run out its allotted time, and even before it has accomplished this, perhaps it will see the reappearance of some form of novel which it considers both pertinently and permanently condemned.

"Third: Just as the naturalistic novel answers in our days to certain predilections, or rather, if I dare to say it, to certain lowerings of the public taste, nothing can guarantee its immunity in the future from severe criticism, as having helped to lower the taste of the public; and this day may be nearer than we think.

"Fourth: No matter what the formula of a novel may be, it never has anything at the bottom but what men may place there, and it is this that gives literature a life, sometimes, that is entirely independent of the theories from which we say it issued.

"And last: If it will not take many books like 'Nana' to lay very low the fortune of naturalism, books like this last-born of M. Zola will do very little to elevate it."

## THE TRAVELER IN THE SOUTH

ROBERT ADGER BOWEN.

TO THE sensitive traveler the spirit of the South enters his train at Washington. Long before the Southern Limited has pulled out from the station at the Capital city he has felt the subtle change of conditions, and before the short run to Alexandria is made, he has experienced a difference almost as marked from those prevailing between New York and Washington as are those between a ship lying at her dock and that same ship an hour later at sea. The spirit of the South! There can be no more definite name for the intangible yet most palpable influences in the air about him. Without changing the habitat of his Pullman car, or train of Pullman cars, with the same companions of travel about him that he has had for the past five or six hours, he feels that he has crossed a boundary line. In the hour that may elapse between the leaving of the Capital and the traveler's seeking his sleeping berth, this intuition will become an intellectual perception. He will awake in the morning to find his train far out upon the ocean.

The vastness of the South, the thinness of its population, the wide separation of its towns and villages—these are the first distinct impressions to be received in this way, and then follows close upon, and is destined to remain, the realization of great and far-reaching poverty. After the fertile fields and rich meadows of Pennsylvania and Delaware, the prison-like walls of barren clay between which the train thunders, and the red and yellow lands of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, with their wretched cabins scattered among arid fields and their desolate pine barrens, have an effect upon the mind that is pitiless in its suggestion of poverty. It is not alone that one does not see evidences of grace and refinement, for railroads nowhere attract those virtues along their courses, but that one does see such unmistakable evidences of an ignorant and shiftless tenantry, where there are signs of human habitation at all, and such interminable stretches of bleak field or

drearier valley where there is no sign of life or indication of domesticity. And yet it should be said, once for all, that the South shows her very ugliest and poorest to those who view her from the windows of her trains, from her railroad stations, and too often from her hotels. She is not the paradise of travelers. Now and then will be glimpses of her mountains, lovely in their changing hues of purple and of blue, and, more rarely, among its trees, some old mansion, picturesque in its decay, which will strike the note of the South's great tragedy; but the usual view of the South from the windows of her trains is squalid and depressing or dreary in its loneliness.

The influence of different conditions will be borne in upon the mind of the stranger more and more as the day wears on. They will be observed in the dining-car, in the material differences in the food, in the service, in the coin which he will receive in change for his bank-note, silver dollars and much-worn smaller coin. They will be observed still more in the few passengers who board the seldom-stopping train on its long run across the Southern states, passengers who in some way seem to fit into their surroundings with an assured ease oddly enough at variance oftentimes with the extraneous matter of clothes and what is known as "style", passengers whom, if our traveler has seen them fifteen hours before on Broadway, he would not have known how to classify or would have classified wrongly, but whom he now instinctively recognizes as his equals. Over and above all, the sense of difference will be emphasized by the atmosphere about him, by a wide, pervasive softness of the air, by a sense of elemental stillness in the nature through which he is penetrating, which adds powerfully to his feeling that he is in a land and among a people varying more than in degree from those which he has just left.

It is no new thought to emphasize the difference of the people of the Southern states from those of the North, but this difference is so fundamental that one has to have it frequently brought to the front by a going and coming to realize what it really means. Even in their points of likeness the people of the two sections differ, and this was recently felt strongly in witnessing a very New York-like scene in busy

Atlanta during what New York calls "rush hours." To an observer there was the same setting, the same glitter of streets, the same air of personal aloofness between passers-by common to the town which has really grown into the city, the same noise and clang of busy traffic, the same—no, not the same crowd. There was a crowd. It packed the sidewalks, it filled the standing room of the admirable trolley-cars that run with an equal swiftness but a very superior smoothness to those of New York; it was almost as cosmopolitan, it was more widely varied, but the point especially to be noted about it was that it did not *rush*. It was going somewhere, and it went, but there was no fret. If it be urged against this somewhat superficial comparison that New York is not typical of the North, or, as the North is fond of asserting, that the progress of Atlanta is not typical of the South, it may at least be safely said that there is a large Southern leaven in Atlanta, which, in the instance under notice, may be supposed to have acted precisely as leaven is intended to act. Nor is this comparison so insignificant as it may at first appear, for it illustrates a point in the Southern character which in spite of the splendid assertion of it in the most convincing way yet needs occasionally to be referred to as a refutation of the old charge against the South of lack of energy. Atlanta, in the heart of the cotton belt, is essentially a money-making machine. Within a few hours of arriving there the visitor from New York will be greeted by the familiar but softened cries of "Extry, Extry", and this Southern city will be offering him what few other cities of the country outside of New York have to offer, extras, and extras with large red-letter head lines, and all about nothing! Even New York could not turn a dishonest penny more coolly. And it is done so coolly! There is no excitement about it. No one is deluded. It is merely an institution of the place, to be encouraged.

It is this combination of indomitable energy with deliberation and unruffled ease that is one of the great distinguishing features of the Southern people. With all of his emotional nature, the Southerner is placid about his business. He wastes no energy physically.

To accuse the Southern people of lack of energy, of being lazy, is to miss absolutely the keynote of their character. There is nothing in the South more abundant than energy—except poverty. There is no contradiction in words here, for there is nothing that weighs in the scale against energy more deadly evenly, deadly heavier, than poverty. Not the poverty, be it understood, of the individual alone, but the poverty of the neighborhood, the section, the state, the country. The South is abounding rich, but the masses of her people are too poor to avail themselves of her wealth. This state of poverty is a curious one. It is full of strange psychologic contradictions. It was for so long after the ruinous days of war and Reconstruction so general a state that the element of comparison did not exist in regard to it. To be was to be destitute. That phase of the condition of the South's poverty has been replaced by one that, while it reads progress, develops also the moral curse of that poverty which exists wherever the comparison of means exists. The man who has not always been poor, but who remains poor while his neighbor again becomes well-to-do or rich, is a poor man in a more tragic sense than he who is only so poor as his neighbors. It is then that the tooth of poverty begins to gnaw and sap the foundations of ambition, self-respect, and that tender virtue, self-love. There is a great deal of this poverty in the South, the poverty that, in spite of all effort, can not get beyond the struggle for the simpler necessities of life. This is the poverty that leaves the house dingy in its paint in order that there may be clothes to wear, that wears clothes it can not take pleasure in that there may be enough on the table, that strives to keep up appearances, not of fashion, but of a rightful gentility, and knows that in externals at least it does not do so, and realizes the danger that lurks thereby to the truer gentility within. The outside world does not appreciate the stern fact that in many homes throughout the South—the prosperous South, the South that is forging ahead in so many industrial and commercial ways,—the real death wrestle with the discouragement of utter reverses that began forty years ago is being undergone only today. And then there is the negro!

He is not the same negro. The South, still essentially agricultural, begins to find herself without a stable lower stratum in her social scale. If, in the homely figure of the section the bottom rail is not exactly on top, it has become decidedly out of place, and there is no source within reach from which to repair the damage. The negroes employed upon places within a radius of ten miles of a town or good-sized village practically own the owners of those places; and desert them at pleasure, whether they are house servants or field hands. Cooks who have all their afternoons free will announce that they are going to be absent for two or three days to attend a convention. There is no permission asked, the duties of secretary to the convention being paramount to any responsibility to a mere employer, who may consider the position vacant if any objection is raised at all. As a refinement of independence in one particular instance of this kind, the mistress was commissioned by the cook to purchase for her "a white veil with black spots", and when, after much searching among the stores of the town the veil was not to be found, the cook's impatience was frankly expressed, and a few extra hours were added to the two days in which she herself might secure the desired veil. Nor is this provoking moral irresponsibility shown only by house servants. Laborers in the field or about the farm will leave over night without a word of warning. They will feel just as free to return after a month, or two months, or six, and ask to be re-instated in their employment.

No better illustration of the change which has come about in the mental attitude of the negroes in the South to the whites could be afforded than by the relation of a circumstance in which the writer played an almost silent part two summers ago in central Georgia. The negroes of the two places where he was staying were giving a dance, and, accustomed as he was to go to such things on an old-time plantation, he, with a friend, crossed the road separating the two places and penetrated the thick grove in which the entertainer's house stood. Standing in the moonlit shadows of the trees, the dance going on before the little house, could be seen the weird, rhythmic, half-wild dancing of the African. In the softness of the Southern

night the mellow voice of the leader and the low laughter of the "partners", the muffled shuffle and hand-clapping, with the dimly-lit interior of the house just behind for background, and the surrounding grove throwing over all the suggestion of aloofness, the scene was in every way characteristic of the old South. But in an unthinking enthusiasm the visitors went nearer, out of the shadows and into the light of the house. Tam O'Shanter's heedless "Weel done, Cutty-sark" effected hardly a greater change. The host of the occasion brought forth chairs, and welcomed cordially. A woman, not of the dancers, also greeted the intruders pleasantly, but the dancing itself ceased, and all the endeavors of Saturday to do honor to his unbidden guests failed to revive it. Within ten minutes the dance, which would otherwise have lasted, louder and merrier, on into the small hours, was over, and the dancers scattering to their homes. Suspicion and mistrust had too clearly taken the place of old-time sense of pleasure at such outside interest.

The shiftlessness and carelessness of the negro as a modern servant is not the only way in which he paralyzes the South in those matters of externals which go so far to lift a people into prosperity. He is a negative as well as a positive hindrance to neatness, order, and thrift. It is not alone that the negro requires hours and acres in which to move about and perform inefficiently his duties, but the fact that where the negro is in numbers, efficient white labor will not go, or if it goes, will not remain, or if it is already there, as in the case of the poor white element of the South, will not serve as a competitor with negro labor. The daughters of poor, illiterate white men, farmers themselves, or yet lower in the industrial scale and merely hired men at wretched wages and with teeming families —the daughters of such men scorn to take service in households as nurses, or waitresses, or cooks. That is for the negro. For them it is to remain at home in the overcrowded cottage, slatternly, slovenly, ignorant, half-fed, but at the orders of no one, and bristling with insolence and offended pride at the least suggestion of patronage. The poverty of the negro scarcely is to be compared with the poverty of these despised

whites—the “po’ white trash” of the negro who recognizes a “quality”, for the negro is rich with a few dollars, and never of the spirit of a pauper even when without. The negroes are becoming an organizing class among themselves. They have “societies”, clubs, and ever-present churches. The very poor whites have nothing. In the towns and cities the negroes blaze ahead with a glittering display of dress, not always cheap if gaudy, of churches substantial and pretentious. In the towns and cities the poor whites are not; they have not yet got so far. The clubs and societies of the negroes are sometimes greatly to be commended, such as those that buy medicines for their sick, pay their doctors’ bills, give them “plain” or “fancy” funerals, as the desire may be, and turn over a bonus to the survivor if only a “plain” funeral has been chosen. There is nothing like this among the poor whites. Where the negro is imitative, light-hearted, and irresponsible, the poor white is reserved and care-worn. Where the negro sparkles with indifference, the poor white glowers in discontent.

It is thus that the South finds herself without a reliable laboring class. The negro, except in towns where competition affects even his easy-going habits, is not to be depended on; the poor white remains where there is no competition, not even in the way of escape from a poverty as sordid as that of the field negro himself, while between the two there is little to encourage the immigration of more thrifty whites. White house servants are isolated, in the few instances where they are to be found outside of the cities, and their position is not an enviable one, so that the present-day negro domestic has things her own way; and neither is that way an enviable one for her employer.

It is not intended by anything that has been written here to make a gloomy picture of the South and its conditions. The future of the South is bright, and its people, in their darkest hour, never gave way to gloom. They are an easily contented people, and the fever of unrest has not possessed them as yet. They value this world’s goods with the wisdom of those who have had and lost, and who accept serenely what is left. Whatever else they may have lost, they never lose caste. The

baptism of their suffering was far too general a thing for that! And then they are so devoted to their land! You might wonder at this sometimes, until the spell of the South enmeshed you. Ensnare you it will, if you remain there long enough for the first strangeness and sense of deprivation in such things as municipal comforts to wear off, and before you know that this has done so, the barrenness will have assumed tone and color, picturesqueness will have taken for its own what at first appeared spiritless and tame, the air of the day will have asserted its wonderful softness and balm, and the nights will have become the vibrant pulsings of a new life. No one knows the South or can understand the powerful influence it exerts upon those who do know it, until he has yielded to the charm of its quivering moonlit night, or to that even rarer spell of the immense silences of its sightless night. It is in the night that the South relaxes and forgets its poverty, as well it may, and then that the "piazza" becomes the temple of its best and bravest faith.

It is easy to sentimentalize about the South, not knowing her. It is hard not to regard her with sentiment when one has entered into her life. There are, indeed, many and serious faults to be justly charged against her. She is narrow, and her vaunted conservatism often becomes stubbornness. She is improperly careless of the good opinion of others. She is apt to be arrogant. She is unduly introspective and self-contented. But it can not too strongly be asserted that the traveler whose experiences are limited to the hotels at which he may stop and to the trains upon which he may travel learns less of the South and her people than he so learns of any other section of the country. Yet, unfortunately for the South, it is thus that the impression that she is the most God-forsaken country on earth is too often brought back to a section which perhaps has not the tenth part of her natural resources, which can not compare with her in climate, which does not know the meaning of the grace of her social life, which never gets into the pulse-beats of its most patriotic sons, as the poorest section of the South has an inexplicable way of doing with those who know her best.

## EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE CONVICTION of Sam Parks for the second time is a very wholesome and encouraging event. From the defiant way he acted at the recent labor convention he evidently believed that his temporary release was but the precursor of a final acquittal, and showed that he was boasting of his crime, rather than showing any regrets for it. Had he been acquitted, and regained a footing in the union ranks, it would have been more than a misfortune to the labor movement. It must be said for the working men, however, that they heartily disapproved of Parks and his methods.

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THE WORLD might well marvel had the Irish party in Parliament unitedly supported the land bill which everybody, the Irish included, has admitted to be the best measure for Ireland that has been introduced for half a century. At first it met the unanimous approval of the Irish members, and it seemed as if there might for once in the history of Irish politics be harmony in the interest of Ireland. It was hailed as a sign of great progress among Irish patriots, but, alas! "blood will tell". William O'Brien has revolted and is about to resign his seat, and this is the signal for several others to follow, and a split in the Nationalist Party is imminent. The cause of complaint is that John Redmond, the leader, is too moderate to represent the Irish cause.

Several excellent Irish measures have been defeated in this way. The Irish seem capable of uniting only in the heat of battle, or on some measure that is remote from practical results.

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THE RESULT of the Ohio election may well cause the President to be more urgent for Senator Hanna to retain the chairmanship of the National Republican Committee for 1904, but there comes a time when all men are willing to take off the harness. Senator Hanna has contributed his full share of that kind of work to the Republican party. Moreover, since Mr. Roosevelt insists on running his own campaign, enforcing

pledges two years in advance, it is only proper that he should select a chairman of his own type. Senator Hanna was the McKinley chairman, and 1904 had better have a Roosevelt chairman. Senator Hanna is not the type of man that Mr. Roosevelt is. He has a different temperament and believes in a different policy, and can not be said to represent the Roosevelt type of political strenuousness. In putting down Johnson and giving an unparalleled Republican vote in Ohio, Senator Hanna has made an adequate contribution to the campaign of 1904, and may properly be permitted to retire from the national chairmanship, which he has held for two campaigns.

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JAMES O'CONNELL, President of the International Association of Machinists, has shown great wisdom in the advice just given to the unions of his organization. He recognizes that a time of prosperity is the time for laborers to ask for higher wages, shorter hours, and other improvements in their condition; but he also wisely recognizes that, under declining conditions of industry, labor would cease to be aggressive and content itself with holding the vantage ground already acquired. If the labor leaders throughout the country will adopt a similar policy and discourage strikes and other disturbing action, they will make a real contribution to the stability of present industrial conditions. It is of the utmost importance that labor leaders prevent all disturbing demands for the present, that congress avoid even the discussion of the disturbance of the tariff, and the President forego all legal attacks upon corporations. A continuance of national prosperity is more important than any one of these movements.

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NO SINGLE act of President Roosevelt's has received more general approval throughout the country than his decision in the Miller case. Really, the union leaders ought to have known better than attempt to force the issue. On this point, they are wrong in theory and injurious in practise. The open shop must be the recognized method of doing business. If unions are not to become an organized force for despotic coercion, laborers must be left free to join them or not, as they please.

The unionized shop binds the employer to refuse employment to non-union men, and thus constitutes a real black list. Under such a system unions would soon become intolerable. No man, however good, can be entrusted with absolute power. Monopoly creates despotism. There is no tyrant so oppressive as a laborer with absolute authority. If unions could generally have the absolute authority that a unionized shop gives, the community would be in a veritable reign of terror.

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TOM L. JOHNSON forced the hand of the voters of Ohio; and the result is one of the most wholesome contributions to American political experience. It is the most decisive evidence yet given that American citizens have no faith in socialism. If the people of Ohio are to be taken as a sample of the nation, this country has no taste for reforming backward toward socialism, or any other "ism" that disregards the rights of property and the sovereignty of the individual citizen. Mr. Johnson not only failed to carry the state and his own county, but he did not even carry his own ward. His abuse of public men, conspicuously Senator Hanna, and his attack upon the successful industries of the commonwealth, done largely to feed prejudice, finally counted against him. This ought to be a lesson to demagogues.

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THE PRESIDENT's message can not be regarded as a strong state paper. It is emphatic, but not informing. He says: "The treaty submitted to you for approval secures to the United States economic advantages as great as those given to Cuba." This is plausible, but it is unsupported. The closing statement that "A failure to enact such legislation would come perilously near a repudiation of the pledged faith of the nation," is even more sweeping. When and where and how was the "faith of the nation" pledged to adopt any such legislation? The Platt amendment didn't do it; congress didn't do it; nor is it publicly known that the administration did anything to "pledge" the "faith of the nation". The President and the advocates of the "Iowa idea" may desire a reciprocity treaty that would give Cuba the benefit of the American market

at the expense of our growing sugar industry ; but before the people are asked to believe that the "faith of the nation" has been pledged, evidence of the fact should be presented.

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THE ALASKA decision appears to have created a ripple of discontent in Canada. In some quarters it has elicited outspoken advocacy of annexation of Canada to the United States. *Le Débat*, a Montreal paper, squarely advocates Canada's joining the United States, provided all the provinces are to be admitted as separate states. The *Chicago Tribune* takes the matter quite seriously, and enters into a lengthy discussion of the proposition. If Canada really wants to join the United States, England would have some difficulty in preventing it. In order to avoid any ill feeling between us and the mother country, might it not be well to suggest that we make a trade with England by giving the Philippines for Canada? We could at least present the fact that, as far as population is concerned, we should be giving two for one. We could afford to be quite generous in the matter and let England have the 8,000,000 Filipinos and the whole archipelago, with the exception of a coaling station at Manila. That would solve the Canada question, it would increase England's population, and would simplify the burden of American statesmanship. If England declines the proposition, and Canada insists upon coming, she may not be able to make so good a bargain.

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IN ITS PLATFORM, the Democratic State Convention of Massachusetts, after adequately denouncing trusts and the Philippines, contains the following :

We demand legislation throughout the country which shall equalize the hours of labor, shorten the hours of women and children, prohibit the labor of the very young in factories, and protect our mechanics and our employers by bringing other states up to the Massachusetts standard. We demand from congress a national labor code which shall limit the hours of continuous employment of railroad engineers, telegraph operators and switchmen, and generally protect all engaged in interstate commerce by uniform law throughout the country.

This is eminently a sound and wise announcement. How-

ever worthless much of the other part of the platform may be, this is good sense. If the Massachusetts Democrats could only get their Southern brothers to repeat this in every state platform this year, and then reproduce it with emphasis in the national platform of 1904, there would be some hope of getting wholesome legislation in the interest of little children employed in the Southern mills.

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A SOCIALIST paper, miscalled *Appeal to Reason*, recently took a statement from the Chicago *Record-Herald* that the farmers of Nebraska had lost \$75,000,000 in the last year by the reduction in the sale of cattle by the packing house trust. Dividing this figure by the population of Nebraska it finds that the trust robbed every man, woman, and child in Nebraska of \$74, and every family of \$375. If it were a fact that every family in Nebraska was robbed of \$375 in one year, the wages in Nebraska would have been reduced about 75%. The average wages in Nebraska, when the census was taken, were only \$500, and a loss of \$375 would reduce the laborers to a state of starvation, or so nearly so that they would be on the verge of revolution. The people of Nebraska are as prosperous as they were before the price of cattle fell. Wages have not been reduced, but have been increased since 1900, and the income of the average family in Nebraska is greater, and not less. There is no objection to the presentation of the most revolutionary theories, but there are moral, statistical, and economic objections to mis-statement of facts.

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THE REVOLUTION in Panamá bids fair to simplify the problem of the canal. The ease with which the independence of Panamá was established shows the lack of confidence in the government at Bogotá. The really contemptible way Colombia treated the canal agreement with this country, holding it up for a "rake-off", is probably the last straw that led to secession. The attitude of the Washington administration toward the new republic is moderate and wise. Secretary Hay informed Columbia "that the President holds that he is bound, not merely by treaty obligations, but by the interests of civilization, to

see that the peaceful traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panamá shall no longer be disturbed by a succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil war". His position is quite consistent with the Monroe doctrine, and is likely to create no serious criticism in foreign countries. Of course, we ought not to aid revolution, but it is quite clear that we ought not to stand by and permit purposeless and wasteful war to obstruct commerce and progress of civilization.

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IN A VERY able editorial on the financial depression, the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* argues that the present financial lull is partly due to the government's action in the Northern Securities case. It is very evident, it says, that a potent element in the demoralized condition of the railroads' securities market is the general concern with which the financial world is awaiting the decision of the supreme court in the Northern Securities case, which is expected in December, and very correctly says:

Nearly all the great railroad systems of this country are made up by the absorption by one wealthy railroad corporation of different railroad lines more or less parallel and originally competing. So that if the decision of the supreme court goes against the Northern Securities company on the main issues at stake it will strike at the legal foundations of most of the great trunk line systems of railroads throughout the country and of the great majority of the railroad securities which are held by millions as investments in this country and Europe.

There is much serious truth in this, and the administration may well pause before going to the logical limit of the law as laid down in the Merger decision. Popularity is very important to a successful politician, but popularity gained by a policy that disrupts business will prove to be a broken reed. No one can smash idols so quickly as those who make them.

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SENATOR FORAKER is said to be preparing a bill providing for the creation of a new department in the federal government, to be called the Department of Insular Affairs, to have charge of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. There may be some reasons for creating an additional cabinet office, but

there are many reasons against it. It is very doubtful if the Department of Commerce and Industry was not a mistake. That department has absorbed, or will very soon absorb, the Department of Labor, which hitherto has been very efficient under Carroll D. Wright, and free from political influence. The Department of Labor, when merged into the Department of Commerce, will probably be reduced to a mere bureau and the new department be devoted to the inquisitorial pursuit of corporations. All the indications are that the new department will be disturbing rather than constructive. It is already being asked on many sides when Cortelyou and Garfield will report for prosecution the large trusts, this being the understood purpose of creating the department.

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IT IS INTERESTING to note how protectionist papers in the United States discuss the Chamberlain movement in England. They talk exactly as free-traders to the advocates of protection in this country. They tell a sad story about the oppression of the poor by a food tax, and yet every one of them advocates a food tax for this country. In truth, much of the discussion of the new protection movement in England by the American press justifies the oft-repeated charge, that it advocates protection as a special privilege and not as an economic principle. The editors think it an awful good thing for this country, but seem to lie awake nights to think up reasons why it will be disastrous to England. This is not creditable to the economic thinking of the advocates of American protection. Of course, a protective tariff will not produce the same results under all conditions, but there are manifestly many conditions in the British empire that would be favorably affected by a protective tariff.

The Chicago *Tribune* has recently been giving several illustrations of this kind of economic logic. It speaks of the wisdom and patriotism of free trade and, without seeming to feel the inconsistency of this talk, says :

The United States is at once the monument of protection and of free trade, each of these schools of fiscal science finding in our com-

bination of them ample exemplification, the one in the protection of our domestic industries against foreign competition, the other in the perfect ease and quality of the commercial intercourse of the contiguous states which form our federal union.

As if any country had anything else but free trade among its own people. To call free intercourse among our states "free trade" is trying to play on words.

What Mr. Chamberlain is advocating is that the colonies shall become commercially a part of the home country, and the whole British Empire a unified commercial and domestic nation, with a common protective policy against the rest of the world. American protectionists should approve of this policy. To be sure, it will give Canadian, Indian, and other colonies a preference in the English market over ours; but we are giving the products of Hawaii and Puerto Rico, and we are talking of giving those of Cuba, preference in our market over those of the rest of the world.

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UNDER THE HEAD of "Coming off the Perch", the St. Paul *Globe* recently devoted a long editorial to President Roosevelt's attitude toward corporations. It says:

It is no longer a secret that President Roosevelt is greatly worried about his political prospects next year, and that he has sent repeated requests to the leading financiers and strong business men of New York city to help him out. His alarm is by no means without cause. He was cocky enough when he thought he was simply making a play to the galleries by declaring his unyielding hostility to great corporate interests. He would be glad to make terms with them now, both for the sake of his campaign fund and the effect upon the country. It has not taken a great while for the policy of President Roosevelt to work disaster to his own chances. Unfortunately, the injury has not been confined to these, but has included the whole business of the country as well. Starting from the point of his unjustifiable assaults upon capital and interferences with business, we have seen a steady decline in the general business of the country, until now he himself is thoroughly alarmed at the possible consequences.

This is rather strong. Perhaps the *Globe* has the evidence to support it. However that may be, there is manifestly truth

in the general statement. Many of the President's best friends have regretted what they regard as his proneness to rash action. It is true that he has reason to believe that the politicians were not friendly to him, and, in making his campaign for the nomination, he felt his only chance was in appealing to popular sentiment. In doing this, however, he has been in great danger of committing the mistake of thinking that the applause in the gallery is really public sentiment. There is a difference between public sentiment and public opinion. It often happens that what is accepted on the first impulse is rejected by the public when it settles down to forming its opinion. Mr. Bryan always had with him public sentiment, but not public opinion. It was easy to infer that Mr. Johnson had the sentiment of the galleries in Ohio, but election day proved that he had not the good opinion of the people.

There is a certain kind of sentiment that is easily aroused against corporations, against business interests, and against the tariff; but it is always a mistake to take it too seriously. The American people do not believe in antagonism to progress. Public opinion in this country will not sustain destructive ideas, but it will approve institutions and methods that contribute to the prosperity of the nation, whether those for the time being be designated by the name of "trusts", tariff, or whatsoever. In the long run, it is better statesmanship, and even better politics, to try to enlighten public opinion than to try to elicit the applause of the galleries.

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THE RECENT meeting of employers in Chicago to form the Employers' National Association was a step in the right direction, provided it adopts the right policy. Employers can all criticise labor unions. Indeed, we can all criticize anybody who tries to do something, but it is quite another thing when we try to do something ourselves. We are apt to feel the force of Portia's remark: "I had rather teach twenty what were good to be done, than to be one of the twenty to follow mine own teaching."

The purpose of this organization is ostensibly to insist upon the open shop. The arbitrary dictation of trades union

has become really oppressive in many lines of industry. Of course the feeling rose in some quarters that unions should be resisted altogether, and, if possible, stamped out, but in consideration of the natural tendency of the times, and the experience of the last forty years, such a policy is practically impossible. The more rational idea has rapidly grown of late that unions are an inevitable part of modern industry, and can not be suppressed any more than combinations of capital. The practical question that presents itself is, how to eliminate their obstructive and destructive features. The tendency among the more enlightened employers is to recognize that unions must be accepted, but that the open shop must be insisted upon.

If the Employers' Association take this for its policy it will do great good. It will receive the support of the intelligent public. But its first step seems to have been a blunder. It elected David M. Parry as president. It would have been difficult to find a more objectionable man for the place. Mr. Parry, as president of the National Association of Manufacturers, for nearly two years has devoted himself to the free abuse of labor unions and labor leaders. There are no adjectives too vile for him to apply to Mr. Gompers and his comrades. He says about them what nobody ought to believe and what, it must be supposed, he does not believe himself. Mr. Parry may be a very efficient man, and he may not mean half he says, and he may be willing to recognize trades union with the open shop condition, but it would still be a misfortune to have him as president of such an organization. If the Employers' Association is to be at all successful, it must have the respect and confidence of the working men, and, in order to gain that, it must treat them fairly. If the laborers should treat the employers today the way the employers have treated laborers in the past, they would hardly give them standing room. The question is not what employers and laborers have done to each other, but what is now the rational course for each. Mr. Parry is a mere fighter, and that is not what is wanted in any movement which is to harmonize labor and capital.

## QUESTION BOX

### Protective and Preferential Tariffs.

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Can you answer these questions for me?

1. In England our local wheat supply is the highest cost of production that is required to supply our market; therefore, it should regulate the price. However, with the development of our wheat-growing areas our home supply is gradually being replaced from outside sources. These outside sources either compel us to invent means of decreasing cost of production or gradually allow our wheat industry to decline. The foreign supply regulates our market, then; and what will be the result of a two-shilling tariff? Does not our question of wheat rather come under a new heading—"dumping"?

2. The foreigners must get rid of their surplus, for if not, it is no more use to them than the price of manure; therefore, they will sell as low as this price. Should they not do so, they are only increasing the supply for the next year, which will mean still lower prices. It is true we must buy, but then there are so many willing to sell and we are the only market.

3. By Mr. Gunton's book "rent" is not included in cost of production. Has not "rent" to be paid just as much as "labor"? for if the farmer does not pay the rent (land is so scarce with us that it can easily be applied for other purposes), he is turned out. But interest on capital and profits of managers, etc., may fluctuate to any extent without affecting the farmer.

4. Again: Your farmers have no rent to pay, while ours have; but in comparing the two industries, we may be able to compete with you irrespective of interest and managers' profits, but rent may deprive us of the possibility of competing. As far as I can see, the two-shilling tariff will affect or reverse the price of wheat according to the difference between cost of production, including rent. If the difference is equal or less, the foreigner pays the tariff. (Our cost or the colonies' cost and the foreigners').

5. Preferential tariffs appear to be quite different from the protective tariffs. For instance, Canada, by giving us a preference and raising the foreigners' taxes by an equivalent amount, secures in certain articles cheaper prices to the consumer without loss of revenue, and at the same time protects her industries. This appears a very important point in the tariff system. It is a means of preventing the home manufacturer from making other than reasonable profit.

London.

W. D.

Before answering these questions specifically, it may be

well to remark that there is no essential difference in principle between a general protective tariff and a preferential tariff. A tariff will be protective if it is so levied as to make the foreign product the dearer portion of the general supply. A tariff, whether general or preferential, may do this, or it may not. All tariffs on products are not protective. Some tariffs are purely revenue, and are paid by foreigners; others are wholly revenue, and are paid by domestic consumers; while still others are partly revenue and partly protective tariffs, and are paid partly by domestic consumers and partly by foreigners. All this depends on how the duty affects the cost of supply.

Our English correspondent asks several questions which bear directly upon the tariff controversy in this country.

I. He is not correct in saying that England's local wheat supply always represents the highest cost of production in the English market. Sometimes the dearest part of the wheat supply comes from Russia, sometimes from other countries. If England's cost of production was always the highest, there would never be any profit in farming, which, of course, is not the case. But England's cost of production is generally very nearly the highest, which explains why there is, on the whole, so little profit for English farmers. The fact that the foreign wheat supply is replacing the English home product and forcing English land out of cultivation, in no wise changes this fact. That process will go on if necessary until all the English home supply is driven out, in which case the price of wheat in England will still be governed by the dearest portion of the necessary supply, wherever it may come from. So long as England furnishes any considerable portion of the supply, and this portion is the most expensive, its cost will fix the price of wheat in the English market. Of course it is a part of this law that when the supply presses hard upon the demand, and any portion remains unsold, it will be the dearest portion, which in this case would be the English product.

What "the result of the two-shilling tariff" would depend upon where it is levied. If it were levied on all imported wheat, it might raise the price two shillings, one shilling, or sixpence, or not at all. That would depend upon how

near the cost of the most expensive portion of the foreign supply was to the English cost of production. Suppose, for instance, next year a two-shilling tariff is levied on all foreign wheat, except from the colonies, and, through crop failure in Russia or some other country, the cost of production is equal to that of England. In that case, if the market required the Russian supply, the cost would be increased two shillings by the duty and the price of the whole domestic and foreign supply would rise two shillings. The English farmers would get two shillings a quarter more for their wheat, and the English people would pay two shillings more for their bread. But suppose, on the other hand, that foreign crops are good and the cost of production in the dearest foreign country is half a crown or three shillings below that of England, then a two-shilling tariff will not affect the price in the English market at all. In that case the English farmers will get no more for their wheat, the English people will pay no more for their food, but the English government will collect two shillings a quarter revenue from foreign producers, and the colonies would get two shillings advantage over all other foreign producers. The colonies would be benefited, the English revenue would be increased, and neither the English farmers nor English consumers would be injured.

2. It is true that the English wheat question does come under the head of "dumping", but so does all foreign trade. England has adopted the dumping process all over the world; so has America. It is the same principle as that involved in the long and short haul policy in railroading, and any application of protection to a home market must make allowance for this dumping policy. Dumping may be, and frequently is, part of a sound business policy. A large concern that can sell four-fifths of its product in the domestic market, may fail for want of a market for the last fifth. If it can sell the last fifth at a price barely covering the cost or even at a 10% loss on that fifth, that may enable the whole concern to continue working without loss or even at a profit. Of course, it follows that if the relatively cheaper food supplies increase from foreign countries, under free importation, English farmers will be forced from

the field. To prevent this, one of two things will be indispensable—either England must find some means to lower her cost of production or she must protect her home market against the competition of foreign products.

3. Our correspondent says: "By Mr. Gunton's book, rent is not included in cost of production. Has not rent to be paid just as much as labor?" Oh, no; labor has to be paid wherever there is production. There is, in many parts of the general agricultural field, land that is used without rent. Rent is a form of surplus above the cost of production, that is necessary cost in all circumstances. In discussing the influence of rent upon prices, we must take into consideration the entire field whence the supply comes. Wheat is a world product. Therefore the competition is not merely between the different rent-paying lands in England, but between the products of the rent-paying and the non-rent-paying lands of the world. Of course it is true that to the farmer who pays rent it is a part of *his* cost of production, but it is not a part of the necessary cost in determining the price in the world market because he has to compete with the products of land that pays no rent. The payment of rent may, and sometimes does, take away the profit of the rent-paying farmer. If the rent-paying farmer could add his rent to the price of his product, then he would never be minus a profit. It is when the cost, exclusive of rent, approximates the cost of the dearest portion of the supply that the rent becomes a loss to the farmer and he goes into bankruptcy or quits farming. English farm land is declining in value and some of it is going out of cultivation because the cost of production, exclusive of rent, approximates the cost of the dearest portion of the necessary supply and farmers can't pay rent without loss. Of course, if England furnished the entire supply for the English market, and all her land yielded rent, then it would be true that rent constitutes a part of the cost of production, but then it would be only the minimum rent. The law of rent is, that so long as there is any "no-rent" land, rent constitutes no part of the cost of production that determines the market price; and if all free land disappears, then the minimum rent only will constitute an element

in the necessary cost of production, and hence in the market price of the product.

4. Yes, some American farmers have no rent to pay; they own their land and work it themselves; but they do not produce more than about half the amount to the acre that the English farmers do. Fifteen bushels of wheat to the acre is a good average yield for this country; whereas in England, the yield is frequently thirty bushels. That is why English land will bring a rent. It is a common thing to pay \$12 or \$15 an acre rent in England. There is no wheat land in the United States for which any such rent would be paid. In Minnesota and North and South Dakota, where there is some of the best wheat land, \$5 an acre would be a high price, \$2 and \$3 are much more common prices. As Ricardo tersely said, "Corn is not high because rent is paid, but rent is paid because corn is high." If the English farm lands yielded no more to the acre than the American, English rents would have disappeared long ago under free importation. The English rent will remain just so long as the product of English land is so much greater than that of competing foreign countries. As already remarked, a two-shilling tariff might not affect the price of wheat more than sixpence, but it would greatly stimulate the production of the colonies where there is "no-rent" land or low-rent land. Our correspondent is right in saying that for England it is a question of the cost including the rent, and if the tariff is equal or less than equal to the difference the foreigners will pay it, and if it is more the English farmers will get the benefit of that much protection.

5. There is no essential difference between a preferential and a protective tariff, except that one is applied to a very limited sphere and the other is applied generally. The effect of a preferential tariff is to give protection to preferred competitors. If Canada would give England a preference of 25% over the United States on all imports, it might do little or nothing for the development of Canadian industries, but it would do much toward winning for England the whole Canadian market.

In the case of the Chamberlain Preferential Tariff, the

effect would be to give the colonies the preference over other countries in the English market. This might not help English agriculture, but it would greatly help colonial agriculture, and it might lead to a rapid development of industry in the colonies.

### Protective, or Revenue Tariff?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I beg leave to ask you a few questions pertaining to tariff discussion.

1. How would you limit the period of gradual tariff reduction?
2. Does a revenue basis mean a duty on non-competitive articles only?
3. Is a protective tariff more of a burden on the consumer than a revenue tariff?
4. Does the trust question necessarily enter into the tariff discussion?
5. Would it be a disadvantage, under existing conditions, to enact a revenue tariff?

Mt. Vernon, Ia.

J. F. M.

1. If the tariff reduction is to be gradual at all, it reaches a revenue basis. "Gradual" is a relative term. The tariff might be taken off at the rate of one per cent. a year or five per cent. a year, or even faster; but it ought not to be taken off either gradually or abruptly below the protective point, if protection is needed for domestic industry.

2. A "revenue duty" means a duty that affords no protection. Such a duty can be most conveniently levied upon non-competitive articles. Indeed, that is what most free trade advocates prefer because that is the surest way of not affording any protection by levying import duties; but a revenue duty is not necessarily confined to non-competitive articles. If the duty levied is always less than the difference between the cost of producing the foreign and the home product, it will afford no protection and, consequently, be a purely revenue tariff. To illustrate: If wool can be imported from England at 12 cents a pound and American wool costs 18 cents a pound, any duty less than six cents a pound will be a revenue duty, because less than six cents will afford no protection.

3. If by "a burden" is meant a disadvantage, a protective tariff is not a burden to the consumer. As explained before in these pages, a protective tariff may raise the price, but it seldom raises the price to the full extent of the duty and, if it affords immediate protection to the industry, the advantage to the country more than offsets any little increase in the price. Moreover, the tendency is that with the development of the industry thus protected, and the use of superior methods and large production, the price is lowered and, in the long run, the products are furnished to the American consumer at a lower price than they would have been if we had depended exclusively on imports. That has been abundantly illustrated in the history of many industries in this country.

4. No; the trust question does not enter necessarily into a tariff discussion. Those who are opposed to trusts like to associate trusts with the tariff, because they think it makes the tariff odious, but there is no necessary connection between them. Trusts are simply large corporations that have grown up as the result of our immense industrial development, and they would come with or without tariff, if the industrial progress had come. If we destroy industrial prosperity, whether by taking off the tariff or by any other means, we can effectively keep down trusts. Large corporations never exist in poor countries.

5. Yes, it would be a very decided disadvantage under existing conditions for the United States to enact a revenue tariff. A very large proportion of the manufacturing industries in this country are still under protection, and the very announcement of the intention to remove it would create a panic. There are very few of our great industries, with the present rate of wages, that could withstand foreign competition, with a purely revenue tariff. That would be equivalent to free trade, which the bulk of our manufacturing interests could not stand.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. By Dr. Edwin R. A. Seligman, New York. Columbia University Press. The Macmillan Co., Agents; pp. 166. Cloth, \$1.50.

This little volume has all the merits of a good book. It is excellently printed in good, clear type. It is written in the author's best style, and it is simple, taking, and clear in statement; and last, but not least, it is an exceptionally able presentation of one of the most important subjects of our day.

Although Dr. Seligman is not in the least dogmatic, his findings are well nigh conclusive. He belongs to the modern school of economic and scientific thought, is inductive in spirit and method, but broad, liberal, and moderate. He takes the view, which is the only tenable one, that History is the text book from which we must learn whatever we know of the life, character, and development of the race. Man once was not what he is and the method of his making, the process of his growing, can not be learned in any occult way. If found at all, it must be through the study of history, through the scientific examination of the labyrinth of his experiences in which he has acquired whatever of ethical, religious, social, and political qualities he now possesses.

It is not denied by any school of philosophers that history is the reservoir of human experiences, but it has long been a question of controversy and practically of schools of thinkers from what point of view history should be interpreted. This is a matter of fundamental importance to sound philosophy, as the point of view affects our attitude toward progress and life itself. If human progress is believed to be governed by special providence, then it is to prayer rather than to the law of social evolution that we must turn for guidance.

Dr. Seligman tersely, but very clearly, reviews the different schools of historical interpretation, and it is astonishing with what ease and obviousness the idealistic and religious theories are found to be inadequate. All modern investigation

whether ethical, religious, social, or political, of economic institutions seems to conspire to aid, if not to compel, the acceptance of the economic interpretation. The assumption that human conscience is an innate, supernatural, and infallible judge of right and wrong, is controverted by the whole of human experience. Dr. Seligman shows, with irresistible massing of evidence, that language, religion, morals, politics, and every conception of justice and of human conduct are the outcome of experiences—the result of the action and re-action of men's conduct upon one another. As he well says, "from the historical point of view, it no longer admits of reasonable doubt that all individual ethics is the outgrowth of social forces." He shows that in primitive societies, there were very few moral offenses, that is very few acts that were regarded as immoral, and that the present well nigh unlimited list of un-ethical acts have been designated as immoral wholly as the result of social forces and experiences.

Dr. Seligman points out that in the Latin, Greek, German, and other languages the word "ethical" or its equivalent always refers to social custom. The essential meaning is always social judgment. In other words, that morality is a social concept. He says:

Not only is the idea of morality an historical product, but the content of morality changes with the state of civilization or with the social class. Homicide was at one time as little immoral as the killing of one animal by another is at present; it is simply unmoral. Even today it is not immoral if committed by a soldier in warfare; it becomes murder and sinful only when the same individual acts in some other capacity than that of a member of an army. Again, with reference to some acts, it is not quite clear whether they are right or wrong. For instance, the deception practised by General Funston to entrap Aguinaldo is declared by some to be not wholly wrong because it scarcely, if at all, violated the social usages of civilized nations in warfare—provided, that is, that we are willing to confess that there is a difference between civilized and uncivilized warfare. On the other hand, the looting by some of the allies of the treasures in Peking and Tientsin is conceded by almost every one to be wrong because it has recently become a custom reprobated by the social conscience of the most civilized peoples.

This growth or modification of man's conception of right and wrong is obviously in his attitude toward many economic, social, and religious questions. Take the great moral question of slavery concerning which there has been such a radical change of opinion. Dr. Seligman says:

Slavery, for instance, was not considered wrong by the great Greek moralists, whose ethical views on many other topics were at least on a plane with those of modern times. In the same way the English colonists who at home would have scouted the very idea of slavery, soon became in the Southern states of America the most ardent and sincere advocates of the system; even the clergymen of the South honestly refused to consider slavery a sin. Had the Northern and Western states been subjected to the same climatic and economic conditions, there is little doubt that, so far at least as they could keep themselves shut off from contact with the more advanced industrial civilization of Europe, they would have completely shared the moral views of their Southern brethren. Men are what conditions make them, and ethical ideas are not exempt from the same law of environment.

So, too, in the domain of political ethics, national and international:

International law began when economic forces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made the first step toward equality by converting the heterogeneous petty principalities into great nations; international justice and universal peace will come only when the economic changes now proceeding apace shall have converted the struggling nations of the present day into a few vast empires, dividing among themselves, and gradually civilizing the outlying colonial possessions, thus attaining a condition of comparative economic equality. Economic equality among individuals creates the democratic virtues; economic equality among nations can alone prepare the way for international peace and justice.

In contending for the economic interpretation of history, no effort is made to deny or minimize the importance of ethical and spiritual forces in history. It only emphasizes the domain within which the ethical forces can operate with success. An ethical reformer is an indispensable factor to advancing civilization, but he can work effectively only when the conditions are favorable, that is when the preparation for

his coming has been made by economic conditions. As Dr. Seligman puts it:

The moral ideals are thus continually in the forefront of the contest for progress. The ethical teacher is the scout and the vanguard of society; but he will be followed only if he enjoys the confidence of the people, and the real battle will be fought by the main body of social forces amid which the economic conditions are in last resort so often decisive. . . .

With every improvement in the material condition of the great mass of the population there will be an opportunity for the unfolding of a higher moral life. . . .

The economic interpretation of history, in the reasonable and moderate sense of the term, does not for a moment subordinate the ethical life to the economic life; it does not even maintain that in any single individual there is a necessary connection between his moral impulses and his economic welfare; above all, it does not deny an interpretation of economic institutions by ethical or religious influences. It endeavors only to show that in the records of the past the moral uplift of humanity has been closely connected with its social and economic progress, and that the ethical ideas of the community, which can alone bring about any lasting advance in civilization, have been erected on, and rendered possible by, the solid foundation of material prosperity.

Dr. Seligman's book is a solid contribution to the best literature on this important subject. It is so scholarly in its presentation, broad and temperate in its spirit, accurate in its data, telling in its illustrations, and so thoroughly philosophic in its method and presentation that no student can afford not to read it.

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INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green, & Co. London and New York. 900 pp. Cloth, \$4.00.

This is a very elaborate and somewhat verbose continuation of the "History of Trade-unionism" by the same authors. Mr. and Mrs. Webb are thoroughly devoted to the English labor movement and, it must be admitted, to the saner portion of it. It is not too much to say that their contribution to labor literature, particularly the trade-union literature of England, is of more real importance as contributing to the

sanity of the movement than that of any other English writers of this generation. They are Fabian socialists, and everything they write is from the collective point of view, but their use of data is eminently fair, and their defense of unions is always judicious. If they could but tell their story in fewer pages, they would probably have many more readers. The "History of Trades-union" and the present volume are nevertheless the true reservoir of historic data regarding trades-union and the labor movement in England.

In the chapter on "New Processes and Machinery", our authors discuss the question of union opposition to new machinery, but they do not attempt to defend the policy of antagonism to new processes. By many citations they show that the system is passing away and no one will read the chapter without feeling that the case has been fairly presented.

As one might expect, the concluding chapter of the work is on Trade-unionism and Democracy, which gives the chief point of the book, namely that the struggle in the labor movement of trade-unionism and all other forces is gradually making for industrial democracy, by which is meant the collective interest of individual ownership and direction of the world's industry; but, in leading up to this, our authors are moderate. They do none of the pessimistic "scolding" that so frequently characterizes socialistic discussion. The tone of the whole work is optimistic, historic, and essentially scientific, and the spirit and the purpose are altogether wholesome.

There are three useful appendices, a good index, and a valuable bibliography.

Although "Industrial Democracy" will hardly be regarded as attractive reading, it will be appreciated by economic students as an excellent reference book on the English labor movement and the wage question.

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THE MEDIAL WRITING SYSTEM. By H. W. Shaylor and G. H. Shattuck. Ginn & Company, New York.

The Medial Writing System is a compromise between the old slant system and the vertical hand. It has the weakness of all compromises, that it meets fully no definite view. It is diffi-

cult to see the benefit of taking two bites at the small cherry of handwriting, if the vertical style is the ideal. Certainly the medial hand is a tremendous improvement upon the hair-lines, ridiculous flourishes, and illegiblity of the sloping hand. We English writing people inherited magnificent penmanship, and it was absurd to deform it by the system long in vogue, which mutilated the words of the language.

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RAILWAY LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By Bal-thaser Henry Meyer, Ph.D., Professor of Institutes of Commerce, University of Wisconsin. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.25 net.

This is one of the practical and useful series of handbooks which the Macmillans are publishing under the general title of *The Citizen's Library*. It is a remarkable compilation of the railway legislation of this country, as well as a clear presentation of the general situation, and of suggestions for its improvement.

The book has several appendices giving examples of charters, model laws, etc. The author states three propositions which he considers incontrovertible, and which he says he is prepared to support with ample evidence. These propositions are important and are as follows:

That the present situation with respect to railway affairs in the United States is untenable and indefensible.

That the great majority of railway managers and other railway officials are sincerely desirous of administering, to the best of their abilities, the properties under their control in the most efficient manner, having due regard for the interests of both the stockholders and the public; but that all the various interests affected by their action are not represented in proportion to their importance, if at all; and that consequently injustice may be done.

That there is nothing in the present statutory and administrative regulation of railways to prevent the arbitrary and harmful action of the weak or unscrupulous manager from defeating the desires of the majority of the officials who would voluntarily pursue a more beneficent course.

As to plans for the betterment of an acknowledged bad situation, he suggests organizing three interstate councils;

one north of the Ohio and Potomac and east of the Mississippi; the second south of the Ohio and Potomac and east of the Mississippi; and the third, for the territory west of the Mississippi. He proposes that each of the great railway systems should have representatives, perhaps on a mileage basis, and that the great national associations such as the millers', builders', liquor dealers', etc., might be requested to send a representative to one of the three interstate councils. The proceedings of that council should be public and published by the government. The aim is "to represent all the varied interests of our population in an advisory capacity in the conduct of our railways." By giving these councils only advisory powers he says, "the legal responsibility still remains where it belongs—in the hands of the railway officials."

The book is admirable in every respect and should be in the hands of every one interested directly in railways or in the general prosperity of the country.

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MUNICIPAL PUBLIC WORKS: Their Inception, Construction, and Management. By S. Whinery, Civil Engineer. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.50.

The author says that this book is "intended for the inexperienced city official, and for the urban citizen." No better book, indeed, could be placed in the hands of municipal authorities throughout the country, and it should be read carefully by all who are interested in efficient municipal administration. It is thorough and authoritative.

Municipal Ownership is dealt with from the point of view of administration. After considering the arguments for and against municipal ownership, Mr. Whinery says that "we are not yet ready to decide the main question finally. We certainly need further accurate data as to the actual relative cost of public service under the management of private corporations, and under municipal officials."

The entire book shows remarkable thought and care in its preparation, and the result is a trustworthy manual both for officials and for public-minded citizens.

THE MONARCH BILLIONAIRE. By Morrison I. Swift. \$1.  
New York: J. S. Ogilvie Pub. Co.

This is a socialistic argument very thinly veiled as a novel. An immensely rich man, after having amassed a fortune by disreputable means, is brought by his daughter to see the injury he has inflicted upon society, makes full confession, and enters into the new order of things, that is, socialism. The book is written in a very crude and unconvincing style, but the story has interest, and may be read by all who are interested in the questions raised by the socialist propaganda. The style may be fairly sampled by the first sentence, "For a rough diamond Giles Wyndon was far in the lead in the seaboard town of his adoption." Those readers who will venture beyond this first sentence may find the book interesting from the socialist point of view.

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THE ALPHABET OF RHETORIC, WITH A CHAPTER ON ELOCUTION, by Rossiter Johnson. \$1.25 net. D. Appleton & Company, New York.

Dr. Johnson has given to "all that care to speak and write correctly" one of the very best books in this field. The beginner in literature could not get a better book. It covers the entire field of rhetoric, and even extends that field so as to embrace matter that is generally left to works on errors of speech, misuse of words, punctuation, etc.; so that the author has brought into one small volume a manual that will be almost indispensable to the average writer.

Nothing is easier than to find fault, even with a book that sets out to correct every one. The conscious effort to be exact has its penalties. The English language is too much alive and is growing too rapidly to be restricted within fast bounds, and usage that is correct today may be absurd tomorrow, and it may be said that nothing in pronunciation or spelling or idiom is ridiculous, but that "thinking makes it so." The solecisms of yesterday become the niceties of speech today, and may be obsolete tomorrow.

The author is averse to introducing new words, and objects to the use of "assault" as a verb. Nothing is more com-

mon than the transformation of nouns into verbs. In fact, this is one of the sources of the inexhaustible wealth of English, and to bar the process from our making of words would deprive us of thousands of the most picturesque terms in our language. It would be interesting to know how Dr. Johnson would deal with the divine line, "*Shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind*", or Milton's phrase, "*footing slow*".

One of the decided weaknesses of Dr. Johnson's book is in its citation of authorities and in its illustrations, exactly where a book of this kind should be strongest. He cites, apparently with equal approval, the usage of Shakspere or of Milton, along with that of Montgomery, of Dobell, and of "Annie Laurie".

It is a pity that any consideration, perhaps of commercialism, made it necessary for the Doctor to add to his excellent little treatise a chapter on "the art of elocution". It is to be assumed that this is something he knows very little about, in the first place; in the second place, it is something he ought not to know anything about; and, in the third place, it ought not to be included in a serious book. It gives an air of cheapness and schoolgirlism to an otherwise admirable work.

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THE COMPROMISES OF LIFE AND OTHER LECTURES AND ADDRESSES, Including some Observations on Certain Downward Tendencies of Modern Society. By Henry Watterson. Cloth; 477 pp. Fox, Duffield & Company, New York.

This volume is a collection of lectures and addresses delivered since 1870, but does not include an address Colonel Watterson delivered recently, in which he denounced the "Four Hundred" as an "apotheosis of boredom". This should have been included, as it would have made the volume a complete mirror of the author's mind.

With the exception of a few addresses, the book, while interesting from many points of view, can hardly be said to be serious or good literature. In fact, Mr. Watterson has practically nothing to say. He has a certain flippant and spicy style that reads fairly well in an editorial that is glanced over at the breakfast table and thrown away, but he has nothing to present that will bear calmer inspection. He is not a scholar, and con-

tributes nothing to the thought of the time. He is not even an orator. To say this is to give him scant praise, as he comes from a section of country in which oratory has long flourished, although in the modern South it has fallen on evil days and evil tongues.

Mr. Watterson has long figured as shadowy and large. He holds a commanding position in journalism as editor of one of the principal Southern newspapers, and what he says is always read, because he puts into it some of the flippancy of the "yellow journalism" that he affects to despise. What can be "yellower" than the following? In referring to what he calls the "unclean birds" of society, flying from gilded bough to bough, "fouling the very air as they twitter their affectations of social supremacy, and no one to shy a brick and to cry, 'Scat, you devils!'" He is as yellow and as motley as one of Shakspere's clowns. One looks in vain to find any sustained eloquence, or any thoughtful, serious, half-inspired writing that would justify the reputation of the author. And yet, for all this, the book has its merits, because it brings together many things concerning the South that can not be had in any other work.

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AMERICAN HISTORY AND ITS GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS.  
By Ellen Churchill Semple. \$3 net. Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston.

It is only within recent years that very much attention has been paid to geographical conditions as effecting national development, although the influences of situation have been felt since the beginning of civilization. The advantage of position was fully recognized in the situation of Carthage, Babylon, Athens, Rome, and Byzantium; and England's geographical position has won for her, assisted of course by the trade instincts of the Teutonic race, her present commercial supremacy. But despite this recognition of geographical advantages, very little has been written to indicate the direct influence of situation upon the development of nations, and the development of cities and communities. This is the purpose of this work by Miss Semple, and although she is in a comparatively new field,

the result is a book of tremendous interest to the American reader. She points out that it was geography mainly that led to the discovery of America, and it was geography also that led to the principal early settlements, which were made wherever there was ready access to the interior.

A peculiar effect of geography upon history is indicated in a chapter dealing with the Civil War. Miss Semple points out that the Southerners who lived in the mountain regions of Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, owned no slaves, because of their small holdings. For this reason they had little sympathy with the cause so closely identified with slavery; and sided with the Union, rather than with the Confederacy.

The author argues that the Atlantic must be for generations at least the principal water highway of the world, and will long dominate the Pacific. She points out that this country is in a position to control the Pacific whenever it is ready to share the immense trade that will some day be carried upon its waters.

The book is an admirable example of typography and illustrations, and its maps are of special value.

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GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Albert Perry Brigham. \$1.25; mailing price, \$1.40. Ginn & Company, Boston.

Professor Brigham's book was published only a few months before the one by Miss Semple that is reviewed above, and possibly neither writer knew anything of the work of the other. As Mr. Brigham says, "one must invent a method, as there are no models in existence". This book deals with the subject in a very practical way. It is much less history than geography that Professor Brigham has in mind, and much more commerce than insubstantial glories of the nation. For him, Chicago and Duluth are as great facts as Bunker Hill and Yorktown and Gettysburg.

A typical instance of the influence of geography upon history is shown in the settlement of New York. The Dutch discovered and seized the best harbor on the Atlantic coast, and the only one offering an easy and direct road into the heart

of the continent, and their settlements at New York, at Albany, and up the Mohawk Valley form one of the great highways of the progress of this nation was made.

The growth of Chicago, Milwaukee, and Duluth are taken as illustrations of the advantage of cheap water transportation. The author is of the opinion that the possibilities of the development of Duluth are almost inconceivable, in view of the fact that a deep water canal across New York state will enable shipments in bulk from Duluth not only to New York city, but to Liverpool, and the other ports of Europe. He points out that the tremendous advantage of Duluth lies in the fact that it is five hundred miles nearer the grain fields of the Northwest than is Chicago, and implies that this nearness to the fields, with equal transportation facilities, may enable Duluth to outstrip her powerful rival.

An intensely interesting and instructing chapter is on the part that geography played in the Civil War. Vicksburg could have possibly held out against Grant had it not been that its position was turned against it, and the Shenandoah Valley, by reason of its being a great natural highway, became the scene of the most brilliant campaigns.

Professor Brigham thinks that it would have been impossible for this country to have been settled and to have attained any great degree of success from the Pacific side. "A nation," he says, "founded in the East could reach out and hold the Pacific, but a state on the Pacific coast could not have possibly dominated the Atlantic coast". He is of the opinion that while the center of the empire may move to the west of the Appalachians, it will always be east of the Rockies, and that no matter what may be the development of the Pacific coast, the power and influence of the United States will be centered somewhere east of the Mississippi, or certainly not west of its great valley.

He points out the fact that the geographical conditions of the territory of the United States make it almost inevitable that there should be but one country within its present bounds. He thinks that sectionalism is rapidly disappearing before the in-

fluence of geography, and that there is no reason for fear that the Union may be split up into several republics.

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THE FORERUNNER. By Neith Boyce. Fox, Duffield & Company, New York.

This is a remarkably strong novel of American life, and is decidedly one of the most promising books of the year. The author writes with facility and with a conscious and full grasp of his subject, and possesses a charm of style and manner that have been absent from most of the books by our young writers. Daniel Devin, the hero, is a typical promoter, full of schemes, and who loves to make money chiefly for the sporting and fighting element in the sharp competition of the present day. He also wants wealth that his wife may enjoy it—a peculiar American trait. Devin's absences in working copper mines in the West, leads to the usual complications, and his wife finds that the attractions of the East are superior to those of a mining camp in Wyoming, and refuses to follow her husband. The scenes in which Devin tries to persuade her to go with him and share his fortunes in his struggle in the West, in which she reveals her want of love for him and her desire to remain in the society she has learned to love so much, are, perhaps, the finest in the book, and are among the finest portrayals of American life that have been written for some time. These scenes and others in the book lift the work of Mr. Boyce far above the average "first book", and far above the work of many older and more experienced storytellers.

As a picture of a certain side of American life, this book will prove of great popular interest. It has a good story to tell, and it is told with charm and wonderful effectiveness. The interest of the reader is held from the first to the last page. It is not too much to say that Mr. Boyce's book reveals great promise of work that will be well worth doing in the field of American fiction.

## CURRENT COMMENT

### Panamá and the United States

The action of the President in the Panamá matter is not only in the strictest accordance with the principles of justice and equity, and in line with all the best precedents of our public policy, but it was the only course he could have taken in compliance with our treaty rights and obligations. By our treaty ventured into with New Granada in the year 1846, New Granada guarantees that "the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panamá upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may hereafter be constructed, shall be free and open to the government and citizens of the United States."

This is a right which was acquired by the treaty, not gratuitously conferred, but in return for an important compensation, for in the same article the government of the United States guarantees "positively and efficaciously to New Granada by the present stipulation the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the transit from one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists, and in consequence the United States guarantees in the manner the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."—*Secretary of State Hay on the course of the United States in regard to the Panamá revolution.*

I cast aside the proposition made at this time to foment the secession of Panamá. Whatever other governments can do, the United States can not go into the business of securing the results which it desires by such underhand means.—*President Roosevelt in a private letter.*

It seems evident that in a matter such as this we should finally decide which is the best route; and if the advantages of this route over any other possible route are sufficiently marked, we should then give notice that we can no longer submit to trifling or insincere dealings on the part of those whom the accident of possession has placed in the temporary control of the ground through which the route must pass; that if they will come to agreement with us in straightforward fashion we shall in return act not only with justice, but with generosity, and that if they fail to come to such agreement with us, we must forthwith take the matter into our own hands.—*President Roosevelt's Message to Congress, withheld because of Panamá revolution.*

We do not wonder that the action of the administration seems to some men very sudden. Some minds move more

quickly than others. Happily, the minds of the men in control of the United States Government are quick-moving minds. By the promptness of their action they have prevented bloodshed, maintained peace, and protected, at the least possible cost of money and no cost of lives, that safety of transit across the Isthmus which they were under obligation to maintain. It will take a little time for men whose minds move more slowly to adjust themselves to the new conditions; but the whole country will do this speedily, and we believe that the opposition to a Panamá canal under the protectorate of the United States will hardly last as a serious factor even into the Presidential campaign of next summer. It is certain that if this opposition is to make itself felt, it must not content itself with criticising the United States for promptitude of action; it must state what the United States ought to have done in lieu of that promptitude of action.—*The Outlook, New York.*

Not to mince matters, this latest example of American hustling has produced a very bad impression in this country and has left a nasty taste in the mouth. It is difficult to discriminate between a government which instigates behavior like that meted out to Colombia (by whosoever created the republic of Panamá) and the country which profits by such reprehensible acts. Our cousins have a reputation for sharp practise in business. Cuteness is the established euphonism. They have been cute over the Alaska arbitration. They have been more than cute in Colombia. It is a tremendous pity that they should appear to be proud of such exploits. Such methods of empire do not tend to strengthen the bonds of Anglo-American friendship.—*The Outlook, London.*

Let us not be mealy-mouthed about this. We want Panamá. We had better not lie about it, or pretend that we can have it otherwise than by the strong hand, which will be our only title to it in the end, and is our title to every acre of the earth's surface which is ours.—*The Detroit News.*

**Republican Victory in Ohio** It is largely the personal triumph of Mr. Hanna, and it makes him more of a power than ever. He was the direct and immediate issue in Ohio. His antagonists aimed their whole attack at him. Tom Johnson, though nominally a candidate for governor, openly said that he was making no fight on the governorship, but exerting all his strength to defeat Mr. Hanna. The Republican leader was assailed in every way and from every standpoint. Mr. Hanna, on his part, accepted the personal

issue and met it in the boldest fashion without flinching at any point. He went all over the state and smote his adversaries hip and thigh. His direct, pungent, meaty speeches, which struck straight from the shoulder, aroused enthusiastic support and carried the people everywhere. The people like a positive, earnest, up-and-down leader, and they had such a leader in Mr. Hanna.

As a result, Mr. Hanna returns to the senate armed with new strength and influence. Senator Frye, who is among the keenest and most experienced of observers, expressed the opinion some weeks ago that Mr. Hanna is the most useful and powerful man in public life. That opinion will be confirmed and emphasized now. The Ohio battle was his battle. It is the great triumph of the year.—*The Philadelphia Press.*

**Tammany's Triumph Explained** As the *Times* explains it, the defeat of Mayor Low and reform was due to "the German voter who puts his dear privilege of guzzling beer all day Sunday above every other consideration; to the defections of Republicans, to silly dislike of Mr. Low because he was not 'magnetic,' but most of all to the revival of party feeling among Democrats." The *Sun* thinks that reform was defeated because it chose the wrong candidate to lead its forces, and it recalls that Mr. Jerome prophesied defeat before Low's second nomination. The *Commercial Advertiser's* explanation is that every "interest" in the city, from the peanut venders to the street railways, wanted a return of the old days when a "liberal" enforcement of any and all laws might be obtained for a suitable consideration, and the *Advertiser* quotes with approval the statement of the *Journal of Commerce* that "the people are weary of the restraints of good and orderly government." The *Tribune* thinks that the good government forces were defeated simply because the majority of the voters in this city are not capable of making a discriminating choice between good and evil. To the *World's* mind, "The moral of this defeat is plain to read: *The next Fusion candidate for mayor must be a Democrat*, if the anti-Tammany forces wish to carry the election. There are some prejudices and predilections that are proof against argument, and the election again demonstrated that party feeling is one of the strongest of them." All these papers supported Mayor Low. The *Brooklyn Eagle* declares that "the city has not voted for vice; it has voted for partisan government on the eve of a presidential election." The *Brooklyn Citizen* (Dem.), the organ of the bolting Democratic faction in its borough, thinks that the result is mainly attributable

to the strict enforcement of the excise law by Mayor Low.—*Public Opinion.*

**Cost of Living in America** These 2,567 families consisted on an average of 5.31 persons, 0.7 person above the average of private families in the whole country as shown by the census of 1900. This larger size of family was not due to any intentional selection of larger families, for the only basis of selection was that the head of the family must be a wage worker or a salaried man earning not over \$1,200 during the year, and must be able to give information in regard to his expenditures in detail. The average income for the year of these 2,567 families from all sources was \$827.19. The average expenditure for all purposes was \$768.54, and the average expenditure for food was \$326.90 per family, or 42.54 per cent. of the average expenditure for all purposes.

AVERAGE COST OF FOOD PER FAMILY, 1890 TO 1902, BASED ON AVERAGE COST PER FAMILY IN 1901 AND THE RELATIVE RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD WEIGHTED ACCORDING TO FAMILY CONSUMPTION.

Year	North Atlantic States 1,415 families	North Central States 721 families	South Atlantic States 219 families	South Central States 122 families	Western States 90 families	United States 2,567 families
1890 . . .	\$330.35	\$310.08	\$282.72	\$279.54	\$332.61	\$318.20
1891 . . .	333.26	316.75	285.23	283.64	335.72	322.55
1892 . . .	329.70	308.57	282.44	275.71	324.90	316.65
1893 . . .	337.13	319.48	288.30	283.37	317.80	324.41
1894 . . .	320.34	304.93	279.36	273.79	306.68	309.81
1895 . . .	315.50	297.05	275.73	268.59	298.65	303.91
1896 . . .	313.23	286.74	270.42	263.11	287.84	296.76
1897 . . .	312.91	289.77	271.26	266.40	286.29	299.24
1898 . . .	319.05	298.26	277.41	270.50	294.01	306.70
1899 . . .	321.31	299.78	280.76	273.51	304.21	311.05
1900 . . .	326.80	305.54	286.07	276.80	302.97	314.16
1901 . . .	338.10	321.60	298.64	292.68	308.53	326.90
1902 . . .	356.83	338.57	312.33	310.75	322.43	344.61

From this table it will be seen that the average cost of food per family in 1890 was \$318.20. In 1896, the year of lowest prices, it fell to \$296.76, and in 1902 reached the highest point of the period, being \$344.61, an increase, as has been already stated, of 16.1 per cent. over 1896, or of 10.9 per cent. when compared with the average for the 10-year period 1890 to 1899. The increase in the cost of living as shown by the results of this investigation relates to food alone, representing

42.54 per cent. of all family expenditures in the 2,567 families furnishing information.—*Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor.*

**Negroes in America and in Europe** Two truths above others are impressed continually upon a colored man traveling in Europe. First, that the average morality of the negro in any part of America compares most favorably with that of the same grade of people in any section of Europe. My own individual opinion, based upon considerable observation, leads me to make the statement that the moral status of the colored people in every part of the United States is higher than the average moral status of the European peoples. In this connection, several considerations should be constantly kept in mind. One is that the social distinctions, or spirit of caste, prevents the average white man in America from seeing and coming into actual contact with the best life among the colored people in America; consequently, many may not, for this reason, credit the estimate which I place upon the moral condition of my race. So long as the working or middle classes remain on the other side of the water, I would say that the condition and prospects of the American negro are better than those of the classes of Europeans to which I have been referring. When those people emigrate to America, no one acquainted with the facts will question the statement that the newly arrived emigrant is given an opportunity for growth and general development not accorded to the average negro.

My general conclusion, after observing conditions in foreign countries more than once, is that with the exercise, on the part of the white men and of black men, of due patience, forbearance, courage and perseverance, the difficulties which often trouble both races in America are not insurmountable.—*Booker T. Washington, in the Independent.*

**Current Price Comparisons** The following are the latest wholesale price quotations, showing comparison with previous dates:

	Nov. 21, 1902	Oct. 21, 1903	Nov. 19, 1903
Flour, Minn. patent (bbl. 196 lbs.)...	\$ 4.00	\$ 5.00	\$ 4 80
Wheat, No. 2 (red) bushel).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	86 $\frac{1}{2}$	86 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{3}{4}$	50 $\frac{7}{8}$
Oats, No. 2 mixed (bushel).....	36	42	41 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pork, mess (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	18.00	13.00	13.25
Beef, Ham (bbl. 200 lbs.).....	21.50	22.00	21.25
Coffee, Rio No. 7 (lb.).....	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	6 $\frac{7}{16}$
Sugar, Granulated, Standard (lb.)..	4 $\frac{6}{10}$	4 $\frac{8}{10}$	4 $\frac{7}{10}$
Butter, creamery, extra (lb.).....	25	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	23
Cheese, State f. c., small fancy (lb.)	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cotton, middling upland (lb.).....	8 $\frac{5}{10}$	10	11 $\frac{15}{100}$

	Nov. 21, 1902	Oct. 21, 1903	Nov. 19, 1903
Print Cloths (yard).....	3	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$
Petroleum, bulk, N. Y. (gal.).....		6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{4}{5}$
" N. Y., refined in bbls. (gal.).....	7 $\frac{8}{10}$	9 $\frac{1}{10}$	9 $\frac{1}{10}$
Hides, native steers (lb.).....	14	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Leather, hemlock (lb.).....	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry, (ton 2000 lbs.).....	23.00	16.00	16.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry, ton 2000 lbs.).....	22.00	14.25	14.25
Tin, Straits (100 lbs.).....	25.15	25.75	25.10
Copper, Lake ingot. (100 lbs.).....	11.60	13.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	13.25
Lead, domestic (100 lbs.).....	4.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.50	4.50
tinplate (100 lbs., I. C., 14x20).....	4.35	4.15	4.40
Steel rails (ton 2000 lbs.).....	28.00	28.00	28.00
Wire nails (Pittsburg) (keg 100 lbs.)	1.90	2.00	2.00
Steers, prime, Chicago (100 lbs.)...	6.27	5.55	5.40
Fine silver (per ounce).....		61 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{5}{8}$
Bullion value silver dollar.....		.4340	.4339
Ratio gold to silver.....	1:36.83	1:35.24	

The range of prices of agricultural products, as given by the government *Crop Reporter*:

	1898 Nov.	1899 Nov.	1900 Nov.	1901 Nov.	1902 Nov.	1903 Nov.
Wheat, No. 2 red, N.Y. (bush.)	78 $\frac{3}{4}$	.75 $\frac{3}{8}$	.81 $\frac{1}{2}$	.84	.79 $\frac{1}{2}$	.87
Corn, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.34 $\frac{1}{2}$	.33 $\frac{1}{2}$	.49 $\frac{1}{2}$	.63 $\frac{7}{8}$	.58	.44 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, No. 2, N. Y. (bush.)	.39 $\frac{1}{2}$	.41 $\frac{1}{4}$	.47 $\frac{1}{2}$	.71 $\frac{1}{2}$	.67	.52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.24	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.44 $\frac{1}{2}$	.20 $\frac{1}{2}$	.35 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rye, No. 2, Chic. (bush.)	.52 $\frac{2}{3}$	.53	.48	.61	.51 $\frac{1}{2}$	.55 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hay, No. 1, Timothy, Chic. (ton)	8.50	11.50	13.50	13.50	13.00	11.00
Potatoes, N. Y. (180 lbs.)	1.50	1.50	1.62	2.75	2.00	1.87
Hops, choice, N. Y. (lb.)	.20	.14	.21	.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	.38	.32
Wool, xx, washed, N.Y., (lb.)	.29	.36	.30	.27	.29	.32
" best tub washed, St. L. (lb.)	.26	.32	.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	.25	.28 $\frac{1}{2}$	.30 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hogs, Chicago (100 lbs.)	3.85	4.35	5.10	6.30	6.95	5.20
Butter, creamery ex, N.Y., (lb.)	.23 $\frac{1}{2}$	.27	.27	.25 $\frac{1}{2}$	.28 $\frac{1}{2}$	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Elgin	.22	.26 $\frac{1}{2}$	.26	.24 $\frac{1}{2}$	.27	.22
Eggs, best fresh, N. Y. (doz.)	.24	.24	.27	.29	.26	.35
" " " St. Louis (doz.)	.19	.17	.18 $\frac{1}{2}$	.22	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	.22
Cheese, Sept. col'd. N. Y.	.00 $\frac{3}{4}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11	.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.13	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Full Cream, St. Louis	.10	.13	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	.11 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities:

	Nov. 1 1898	Nov. 1 1899	Nov. 1 1900	Nov. 1 1901	Nov. 1 1902	Nov. 1 1903
Breadstuffs.....	\$12.877	13.282	13.853	17.840	17.564	16.617
Meats.....	7 547	8.312	8.669	8.929	10.020	7 994
Dairy, garden..	10.427	11.746	12.383	13.622	13.408	13.584
Other foods....	8 805	9.060	9.640	9.157	8.868	9.724
Clothing.....	14.161	16.243	16.012	15.342	15.785	16.680
Metals.....	11.505	18.372	15.077	15.876	17.383	16.170
Miscellaneous...	12.577	15.158	15.663	16.077	16.551	16.056
Total .....	\$77.899	92.173	91.297	97.743	99.579	97.825

The average prices of sixty railway stocks, ten industrial and five city traction and gas stocks are given in *Dun's Review*:

	Dec. 31, 1901.	Dec. 12, 1902.	Oct. 17, 1903.	Nov. 13, 1903.
Average, 60 railway.....	102.99	103.03	83 32	84.32
" 10 industrial .....	63.45	57.48	43.98	42.90
" 5 city traction, etc... ..	137.37	130.45	106.35	110 83

Prices of certain significant stocks on the New York stock exchange, as given by *Bradstreet's*:

	Range during 1902		Closing Oct. 17, 1903	Prices Nov. 13 1903
	Highest	Lowest		
Amer. Beet Sugar (com.).....	30	30	—	—
Amer. Beet (pref.).....	—	—	—	—
Amer. Sugar Ref. (com.).....	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	113	111 $\frac{1}{4}$	116 $\frac{3}{4}$
Amer. Sugar Ref. (pref.).....	—	—	117 $\frac{1}{2}$	119 $\frac{3}{4}$
Amer. Tobacco (pref.).....	151 $\frac{1}{2}$	140	—	—
Cont. Tobacco (pref.).....	126 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	98	101
Gt. Northern Ry. (pref.).....	203	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	165	—
International Paper (pref.).....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	61	60 $\frac{1}{2}$
N. Y. Central R. R. ....	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	147	117 $\frac{1}{2}$	116 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania R. R. ....	170	147	119	113 $\frac{1}{2}$
Reading R. R. (1st pf.).....	90 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	76	76
Southern Pacific Ry.....	81	56	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	41 $\frac{1}{2}$
U. S. Rubber.....	—	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
U. S. Rubber (pref.).....	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
U. S. Steel (com.).....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	10 $\frac{7}{8}$
" " (pref.) .....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	79	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Western Union Tel.....	97 $\frac{1}{2}$	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$

English prices of staple commodities, as given by the *London Economist*:

	Nov. 7, 1902	Oct. 9, 1903	Nov. 7, 1903
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Steel rails (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	5 10 0	5 10 0	5 10 0
Scotch pig iron (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	2 17 0	— — —	2 8 9
Copper	52 1 3	52 14 5	57 17 6
Tin, Straits	117 7 6	114 5 0	116 2 6
Tin Plate (108 lbs., I. C., 14x20) ..	— — —	0 11 7	0 11 7
Sugar, granulated (112 lbs.) .....	— — —	0 16 3	0 16 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lead, Eng. pig (long ton, 2,240 lbs.)	10 16 3	11 8 9	11 8 9
Cotton, middling upland (lb.) .....	0 0 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ 0	0 0 4 $\frac{9}{16}$ 0	0 0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Petroleum (gallon) .....	0 0 5 $\frac{6}{16}$ 0	0 0 6	0 0 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

(American equivalents of English money: pound—\$4.866; shilling—24.3 cents; penny—2.03 cents.)





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